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Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church
Mount Vernon, Indiana.

The History

of

Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church

1853-1953

Mount Vernon, Indiana

by

Elfrieda Lang

Assistant Curator of Manuscripts
Indiana University Library

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TRINITY EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH

Preface

A chronicle of Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church of Mount Vernon is necessarily much more inclusive than the title indicates. Indeed, the story of this church would not have been complete without a certain amount of background material. The search for the foundation of this church and of the German religious thought and customs of its founders has led the writer into the far reaches of the historical past. In relating the movement which had its roots in the Protestant Reformation, it has been obligatory to note some dissatisfactions of the various oppressed groups at home and their search for individual freedom of religious worship which led them from the lands of the *verboten* to the New World of opportunity.

The narrative has been carried under the same force of necessity through the period of German immigration which led into the heart of the Middle West, in particular to the states of Missouri and Indiana. This tracery has recounted many of the problems with which the travelers from the fatherland were confronted in the New World—and the manner in which they solved or side-stepped them. In a number of these solutions may be seen the underlying causes of their future group reactions and policies.

For similar reasons it has been deemed advisable to describe the early settlement of Posey County and especially that area of which Mount Vernon became the center, and finally the part of the German Evangelical settlers within the county and within the town.

The story has had to include not only the people from over the water but also their religion. Likewise, it has involved a review of the growth and development of the Evangelical Synod of North America and of the Reformed Church in the United States. In this setting the picture of Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church has been silhouetted against the pattern of this higher ecclesiastical body and stands out, it is hoped, in its true perspective against the light of its greater milieu.

In painting the local picture it has not been possible to portray all the activities in which Trinity participated; for unfortunately, the records of the numerous organizations are incom-

plete; and the church minutes before 1899 were consumed by fire.

By way of biographical material, an effort has been made to include as many sketches of the founders as possible—and of all pastors whenever material has been available.

Such events as have been enumerated definitely reveal the type of personalities which were entrusted with the program of the church. The narrative has been written in strictly chronological order and includes both favorable and unfavorable episodes in the history of Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church.

Valuable assistance and many kindnesses were extended to the author in the preparation of this volume by Frieda Schneider Andressohn, John D. Barnhart, Joyce E. Becker, August E. Binder, Margaret Forthoffer, George A. Grabert, Catharine L. Howard, Evah Ostrander Kinchloe, Albert L. Kohlmeier, Matilda Langhorst, William Maurer, Lola Nolte, Dorothea Dietz Pence, Helen Lang Renschler, Bertha Renschler, Ruth Schultheis Rothrock, Carl E. Schneider, Dorothy Kuebler Withers, Trinity council as well as many church members, Posey County officials, Eden Theological Seminary Library, Elmhurst College Library, Hammond Library of Chicago Theological Seminary, Indiana University Library, and the Alexandrian Free Public Library of Mount Vernon.

The entire manuscript has been read by Chloe Siner Morgan (Mrs. William Thomas). To her is due a great debt of gratitude for many suggestions which have been incorporated and will hereafter pass as the work of the author.

Indiana University
July, 1953

Elfrieda Lang

Biographical Sketch of the Author

Little did we think in the summer of 1912 as we played house and hide and seek among the concrete partitions of the Lang home then being built that one of us would become the author of the history of Trinity Church and the other would write her biography.

Elfrieda Lang, the eldest of the six children of Henry and Augusta Brandt Lang, was born May 22, 1904, on a farm near the German settlement of Lippe about twelve miles northeast of Mt. Vernon, Indiana. She began her education in the rural school; and after the family moved to Mt. Vernon in 1913, she completed the eighth grade in Central Grade School in Mt. Vernon. After having attended Lockyear's Business College, she worked as a stenographer until 1923 when she became secretary to the president of Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Illinois. During these years she felt increasingly the need for a high school education and so completed work for a diploma through correspondence courses.

In 1941 she resigned as recorder of Elmhurst College and entered Indiana University where she completed her work on an A.B. degree in German and history in 1943. In 1944 she earned her A.M. in history and for her thesis wrote on "German Immigration to DuBois County, Indiana." Her love for learning was insatiable and in 1950 Miss Lang was awarded her Ph.D. in history with a dissertation on "Immigration to Northern Indiana before 1850."

In 1944-45 Miss Lang worked for the Indiana War History Commission. In July, 1945, she became associated with the *Indiana Magazine of History* and in July, 1953, when she resigned was assistant editor and research associate. At present she is assistant curator of manuscripts for the Indiana University Library.

In all Miss Lang's writing she has been especially interested in the emphasis on the effects of German immigration on the life of Indiana. She has done considerable research writing on Harmony Township in Posey County and on Lake County, all of which has been published in the *Indiana Magazine of History.*

A number of other articles are ready for publication and she hopes to complete this study for the entire state of Indiana.

Miss Lang is a member of Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church, having been confirmed in 1918 in the first all-English confirmation class in the history of the church. From that time until she left Mt. Vernon, she was an ardent and loyal worker in the Sunday school, the choir, and the Young People's League.

At present Miss Lang resides in Bloomington, Indiana. Into her busy academic life she crowds time for her hobbies, which are sewing, needlework, cooking and travel. Her many activities, her talents, and her varied interests in humanity have made her many friends among professional people and have kept for her her childhood friends.

Mt. Vernon, Indiana
August, 1953

Catharine L. Howard

In Appreciation

Planning the Centennial Celebration began more than five years ago. The ninety-fifth anniversary was used as a starting point for a program that included a variety of objectives such as building repairs and improvements, an evangelistic out-reach, the scheduling of a year's events throughout 1953, the preparation of the historical volume, the writing of the Centennial pageant, and the collection of materials for an historical exhibit. The enthusiasm given by the entire congregation towards such an undertaking has been such as to make any pastor's heart happy and his work most enjoyable. It would not be possible to mention the names of all who have so generously shared in this entire project, but it is desired to express thanks to Oscar Uebelhack who has served as Centennial Program Chairman since the inception of the idea; to August Kueber who served as Council President during 1952 when so much of the final planning and work had to be done; to George A. Grabert who has served as Council President during this Centennial year; to Mrs. Frank I. Withers (Dorothy as she is so well known) for the vast amount of time given to office secretarial work that has been required, spending hours beyond number in doing so much of that detailed work which never comes to light; to Elfrieda Lang in the writing of this Centennial history which has been a unique undertaking by the congregation as such a large project has seldom been done; to Catharine L. Howard for writing and producing the Centennial Pageant; and, let us not forget, to Our Heavenly Father who has poured His Spirit into the hearts of all to glorify His Name and to exalt the Loving Savior of whom we witness in this fashion. We pray that the beginning of the second one hundred years will be characterized by a great vision of what can be done, and complete devotion to Christ and His Church for the accomplishment of the same so that the heritage received may be passed on with a greater glory to those who shall follow after.

August E. Binder, Pastor

Mt. Vernon, Indiana
August 11, 1953

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I

Germans Migrate to the Land of Opportunity

ALTHOUGH German immigrants had settled in America during the colonial period, it was not until the nineteenth century that they crossed the Allegheny Mountains in any large numbers to populate the fertile fields of the Middle West. Since there are no immigration records available prior to 1820, it is not possible to state how many emigrated to the United States during the first two decades of the century, but a review of conditions in the *Vaterland* indicates that emigration probably took place on a relatively large scale. After the Napoleonic Wars, famine and sickness as well as severe winters brought hardships to many German homes. In the spring, therefore, when the snow had disappeared from the roads and the people could travel with more ease, one heard throughout the land *"Nach Amerika! Nach Amerika!"*[1] Frederick J. Turner, the historian of the frontier who placed so much emphasis on the development of society in the wilderness claimed that, "since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity."[2]

Some of the south German states had become the victims of an industrial depression because "France and the French armies had absorbed the products of the family workshops and village factories." Moreover, France sought national recovery through various methods of protection and thereby placed tariff barriers in the path of her neighbors. Consequently, in countries where hands became idle because of trade exclusion, the emigration fever spread with considerable rapidity.[3]

Then, too, during the European conflict, men in the armies found opportunities to view scenes which differed from the narrow and dull life in native villages. Those of more adventurous disposition now cast eyes across the ocean in the direction of

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[1] Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati, 1847), 254.

[2] Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 37.

[3] Marcus L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1945), 81.

America for new and interesting sights. The peace treaty itself gave momentum to this spirit by allowing six years for citizens of a district transferred to a new allegiance to depart without paying emigration tax. A number of the principalities along the Rhine fell into this category and many left with America as their destination.[4] It is probable that under normal conditions the number who migrated would have been much smaller.

In 1816 when the emigration season was well under way, boats had to be constructed in the shipyards of the Upper Rhine in order to cope with the traffic. The ports of Holland were soon filled to overflowing with Germans, and by the spring of 1817 it appeared that southern Germany might be depopulated. In a fortnight four thousand bade farewell to Baden, and Württemberg in the same year lost sixteen thousand. The banks of the Rhine were crowded with people who lacked the means to emigrate. Some thirty thousand returned from Holland because of insufficient funds to defray the cost of the voyage to America.

The emigration fever again found innumerable victims in 1818. Thirty thousand navigated down the Rhine through Mainz, and Württemberg again contributed nine thousand. Approximately sixty thousand left Germany in 1817 and 1818, but in 1819 the number was reduced to twenty thousand. This decrease might be attributed to a better harvest and a milder winter. During the next five years emigration continued but fluctuated between six and twelve thousand.[5]

Between 1820 and 1830 only 7,729 Germans sought American shores. This figure would seem to indicate that conditions in the fatherland failed to encourage departure from native soil and friends. Yet, by the end of the first third of the nineteenth century so many German-speaking people had settled in Ohio as to cause the majority of shopkeepers in many of the Buckeye cities to affix gold lettered German translations to all their business signs. Among the leading Ohio German-American cities to come into prominence during this period was Cincinnati. In this

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[4] G. F. Martens (ed.), *Nouveau recueil de Traités d'Alliance, de paix, de trève . . . .* (16 vols., Gottingue, 1817-1842), II, 9; Marion D. Learned, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials Relating to American History in the German States Archives* (Washington, 1912), 49, gives a list of documents relative to this emigration.

[5] Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration,* 82; Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika,* 254-55.

city the area across the canal, chosen by German settlers, came to be known as the "Over-the-Rhine" district. During the decade 1830 to 1840 as many as 152,454 *Deutschland* home-seekers entered the United States.[6] This considerable increase may have been due in part to the journalists' generous use of superlatives in their descriptions of the "promised land" across the Atlantic. Furthermore, letters from relatives and friends in America—similar to those of the young lawyer, Gottfried Duden, son of a wealthy Remscheid apothecary, had wide circulation and tended to corroborate accounts published in newspapers.

Duden, in his letter of February 20, 1825, written from Missouri, declared that the meaning of "fertile soil" in America was different from that which it meant in German. "Good soil, or soil of the first order," he insisted, would "not require any fertilizer for the first hundred years of its use." In his estimation even average soil was of such nature that fertilizer would not increase the yield of grain during the first twelve to twenty years. He wandered for hundreds of miles among the giant trees of the forest without being touched by a single sunbeam. The ground so black with primeval humus—in many places from one and a half to two and a half feet thick—gave the impression that "one were walking on beds of coal." He had seen grapevines whose trunks, over a foot in diameter, rose straight up for more than a hundred feet and then spread their densely foliaged vines over the tops of elms." Moveover, the hills were so covered with these vines that in a short time a wagon load of grapes could be gathered. Duden gave a detailed description of the persimmon tree, maintaining that in the valleys as well as on the hills this tree was a common indication of rich soil. The sugar maple, he stated, was "so common in Missouri that every settler" had his own sugar camp near his home. No European penuriousness existed in America, where a day laborer earned as much in one day as he consumed in a week "with the best appetite, of meat, bread, vegetables, butter, milk and brandy."[7]

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[6] *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945* (Washington, 1949), 33-34. Statistics referred to in this chapter have been taken from this source unless otherwise indicated. Karl Bernhard, *Travels through North America during the Years 1825 and 1826* (2 volumes in one, Philadelphia, 1828), II, 152; Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America* (New York, n.d.), 200.

[7] Gottfried Duden, *Bericht uber eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas . . .* (Elberfeld, 1829), 54-62. For an English translation see,

Such news and similar descriptions of America in thirty-six letters, Duden published in book form in 1829 at Elberfeld. Since there was considerable increase in German immigrants after 1830, it is likely that the contents of these letters must have fallen within range of many receptive ears. Even an individual satisfied with the "Old World" might dream about this paradise across the ocean. To people who had been victims of the great flood of the Rhine, who had suffered from scanty harvests, or who had endured severe winters, these letters constructed visions of a land where want was unknown and hands need not be idle.

In addition to letters and newspaper accounts, events at some educational institutions encouraged emigration. At the University of Jena, the War of Liberation had awakened among the students a spirit of German nationalism which resulted in the organization of an association know as the *Burschenschaft.* Its object was to foster patriotism and Christian conduct. Since the views held by government officials differed from those of the organization, it was hoped by repressive measures to thwart the enthusiasm of these students. The *Burschenschaft,* however, survived and its membership took active part in the revolutions of 1830. It was not unusual for students to be placed in jails because of street disorders for which the various *Burschenschaften* were responsible. Contemporaneous with attempts in Germany to obtain popular freedom was the triumph of Jacksonian democracy in the United States. Hence, the *Burschenschaft* movement against misgovernment, taxation, and extravagance of petty German rulers had won cohorts among German professors and students who turned in considerable numbers to America.

These intelligentsia are frequently referred to as the "Latin farmers," who settled in the Middle West. They were more familiar with Virgil than they were in the art of guiding a plow through a furrow of prairie soil. Part of the difficulty was due to the fact that the American plow required lifting of handles, whereas the German plow which rested on wheels was forced into the ground by pressing on the handles. When the corn harvesting was undertaken, the hired man used the pruning knife.

William G. Bek, "Gottfried Duden's 'Report,' 1824-1827," *Missouri Historical Review,* XII (1918), 88-89. Friderich Schnake, "Gottfried Duden," *Der Deutsche Pionier,* VI (1874), 391-92.

This not only required constant back bending but was a slow process, since only enough stalks could be cut to set up two shocks before nightfall. One family who had brought two swords from Germany to serve as a defense against the Indians and animals of the forest used them to cut corn. Likewise some of the German pioneer farmers also brought hand sickles and scythes with which to harvest the small grain. Later, they used the heavy wheat cradle, but this practically exhausted them. The threshing was done with flails on an improvised floor, and later the grain was tramped out by the horses. Of the "Latin farmers" who lived in Missouri one after the other went to ruin, but the day laborers prospered and were happy in the new homeland.[8] No doubt the city-bred folks from Germany had been convinced that the American ax was more difficult to wield than the pen, and that the plow and stable fork were stupid tools. It may be assumed that German farmers in other areas encountered similar experiences.

In the thirties Indiana also became the choice of Germans who had engaged in a trade in the fatherland and here became tillers of the soil. One of these was Jacob Schramm, who had sent a friend to America in 1830 with two thousand talers[9] to purchase land. Five years later he in company with his wife, Julia, a three-year-old daughter, Nannette, his father-in-law, a twelve-year-old serving maid, a ropemaker, and a baker's boy, left native scenes for a new and strange country. With all his belongings in boxes and trunks, with a relatively large amount of money and considerable salable merchandise, he embarked at Bremen early in August of 1835.

After the arrival of this family in Indiana they sent to relatives in the old homeland a detailed letter about the voyage and first impressions of the new land. Schramm expressed surprise at the American for giving so little thought to good food and

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[8] Frederick J. Turner, "German Immigration into the United States," Chicago *Record-Herald,* September 4, 1901; H. A. Rattermann, "Gustav Körner," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter,* II (January, 1903), 25-384; Ernest Bruncken, "German Political Refugees in the United States during the Period from 1815 to 1860," *ibid.,* III (October, 1903), 43-46; Wittke, *We Who Built America,* 189-92; Friedrich Münch, "Sonst und jetzt, ('et haec meminisse juvabit')," *ibid.,* IV (1872), 229-31.

[9] A large silver coin issued by various German states. These varied slightly from one dollar in value. In Germany in 1873, the old taler was made legal tender at three marks, 71.4 cents.

drink. This, however, he attributed to the fact that in the United States people were more interested in their business and money making, for which the opportunity was greater than in Germany. The journey from Albany to Buffalo on the Erie Canal made an indelible impression upon the newcomers. A Lake Erie steamer conveyed the Schramms to Cleveland, whence the trip continued by canal across the state of Ohio, and from Portsmouth the journey—still by water—followed the Ohio River to Cincinnati. After a night's rest, the travelers engaged a wagon to jolt them over the corduroy roads of Indiana to the farm in Hancock County where there were two small three-room log cabins awaiting them.

In many ways, Schramm reported, the new land was a disappointment, especially for people who owned property and needed laborers. It was, however, golden for those who provided the necessities of life and engaged in such trades as those of tailor, shoemaker, mason, carpenter, cabinetmaker, wheelwright, and saddler. Moreover, it was the writer's opinion that since taxes were very low, young people could save enough to acquire a farm and face old age without fear, which was not the case in Germany. He was amazed that rich people were more accustomed to labor in America than in his native land. His advice to the man of property was to remain in the fatherland unless he had mastered the English language and could follow a trade, for which the remuneration was ten times more than in Germany.[10] Nevertheless, some men of property from the district near the Rhine ventured forth, bringing with them in 1832 between three and four thousand pounds.[11]

Whether glowing accounts of the fertility of the soil, political freedom, or some other force prompted Germans to leave the fatherland, another factor aided in severing ties with the "Old World." Associations were formed in the thirties to encourage emigration from Germany. Three attempts were made in this decade for group emigration. The first of these societies was formed at Mülhausen. Descriptive literature of the promised land was distributed and won a few score enthusiasts. During

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[10] Emma S. Vonnegut, "The Schramm Letters," Indiana Historical Society *Publications*, XI (1935), 221-302.

[11] *Niles' Weekly Register*, XLIII (November 24, 1832), 196-97.

the ocean voyage of this group in 1831 the handmaiden of strife became so active as to cause these individuals, upon their arrival in the new country, to scatter and to trudge the road alone in search of fortune.

In the summer of the same year, a second group under the leadership of "Proli of Offenbach," who had stimulated considerable religious and political feeling among eighty of his followers to induce them to pool their funds in a common chest, sailed from Bremen. When they reached New York, the younger members seceded from the association. Those who remained began the trek for western Pennsylvania, then proceeded to Ohio, losing families all along the way. Finally, the leader with a small remnant settled in Louisiana. Here he lived for many years in seclusion in sharp contrast to the publicity accorded him upon the beginning of his adventure.

The third group, composed of residents from Hesse and Bavaria, left in the spring of 1833 for Arkansas. This migration was hardly noticed because a new project in Germany attracted greater attention.

In the small university town of Giessen, a publication appeared in March of 1833, reviewing recent political developments and painting a pessimistic picture of the future. Although the author or authors disclaimed any intention of arousing people to emigrate, he suggested a plan for joint action. The formation of local organizations was urged which in turn should communicate with the provincial central committee in Giessen. When a relatively large number had been heard from, a permanent directory was to be elected. Only such individuals as were able to finance transportation, the preliminary investigation of a site, and the purchase of land were invited to participate. It was hoped that eventually when a desire arose for the laboring class in the new settlement, the transportation for those with less property might be undertaken.

The program was followed as outlined, with a general meeting being held in September and permanent officers appointed. Consequently, in the spring of 1834, a large, enthusiastic group assembled at Bremen, the port of embarkation. Through a misunderstanding with the shippers only one vessel was available for immediate departure. The personnel was divided and the first ship sailed for New Orleans. Early in the proceedings of the

program, Arkansas had been chosen as the ultimate destination. Due to some last-minute doubts, the decision of the site was left to the leaders of the party. All seemed agreed that it should be somewhere in the Mississippi Valley—if not Arkansas, then Missouri or Illinois. Those who remained behind to await the second ship became dissatisfied and questioned whether those who had preceded them could be found. Because of the delay their funds gradually dwindled; and when the voyage finally began, the original high hopes and spirit of co-operation resulted in pessimism and petty feuds. Some comfort was derived from the hope that those who had sailed on the first vessel might have a site selected and possibly made some preparations.

The first group, having landed at New Orleans, decided to go to St. Louis and there await the arrival of the second group before choosing a place of settlement. A Mississippi River steamer was chartered, but because the water was too shallow, it became necessary to use two smaller boats. By this time a number in the party were so exasperated that they struck out for themselves. By the time St. Louis was finally reached the bonds of the organization had completely broken and those who remained scattered far and wide. Several families of the original band located near St. Charles, Missouri, which was the only community actually established by the venture so ambitiously begun. In the meantime, the second ship arrived at Baltimore. The passengers then began the land journey across the mountains to Wheeling where they boarded an Ohio River steamer. Familiarity must have bred discontent since each family followed whatever course appealed to it, thus only a small number joined the little band at St. Charles.

Many wealthy and educated men had joined this venture, but due to inexperienced leadership the project failed. A bell had been brought from Germany for the proposed town hall, but it was eventually hung in a barn. Moreover, a costly telescope which was brought for the intended observatory was placed in a log cabin.[12] And thus ended the ambitious venture of the *Giessener Auswanderungsgesellschaft.*

Societies were also organized in America to promote German

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[12] Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration,* 123-26; Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika,* 278; Bruncken, "German Political Refugees," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter,* III, 33-34.

settlement. On January 24, 1835, *Germania* was organized in New York. Its objects were to maintain a strong German character, German customs, and education; to make an effort to improve conditions in Germany; and to assist refugees and immigrants with advice and material aid.[13] Many aliens had been fleeced by city slickers.

Since a grant of land had been made to 235 Poles in 1834, Franz Löher stated *Germania* also sent a memorial to Congress requesting land for German refugees and offering to pay at a later date the minimum price. Congress, however, did not grant their request. They then planned to direct German settlers to one state of the Union, get control of it, and make it a German state. Unfortunately, they could not agree on a location, as some wanted Texas, others Oregon, while most of the group favored states between the Mississippi and the Great Lakes. Consequently, the society finally dissolved and the members scattered over the United States, some establishing colonies, and others becoming newspaper editors.[14] Whether they were successful in these pursuits remains a mystery.

In August, 1836, a meeting was held at the Penn Hotel in Philadelphia for the purpose of forming a German state. At a later meeting of this group a constitution was adopted and directors were chosen. That this organization intended to reach its goal was indicated by the fact that over twelve thousand acres of land were purchased in Gasconade County, Missouri, and the town of Hermann was founded on the Missouri River. Only a few settlers arrived in the fall of 1837, but in 1838 a relatively large group came. Western Pennsylvania also was vitally interested in promoting German emigration. Thus the Pittsburgh Homestead Association was organized to be of assistance to German immigrants.[15]

Such ambitious ventures as New York and Philadelphia undertook were more than most societies could hope to achieve. The Cincinnati German Association was organized on July 31, 1834, mainly to assist those from the fatherland upon their arrival in

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[13] Gustav Körner, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848* (Cincinnati, 1880), 108.

[14] *United States Statutes at Large*, IV, 743; Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*, 281-82.

[15] Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 70-71; Wittke, *We Who Built America*, 198.

America. It also aimed to preserve old customs.[16] Immigrants frequently found comfort in the new land when it was possible to converse in their native tongue.

While societies may have influenced many to migrate in the thirties, there were still others who left their native land because they sought freedom of religion. In 1838 a Lutheran congregation with its pastor set sail for America to "preserve the true faith," and in this trait it resembled the Pilgrims who left England, and then Holland, to come to America to preserve liberty of conscience. They differed from the Pilgrims in that they had sent agents ahead to purchase land.[17] This would seem to indicate that their material means were sufficient to begin anew in America.

As has been noted, a number of factors encouraged Germans to emigrate in the decade of the thirties. During the next ten years 434,626 were added to the population of the United States from this nationality. Causes similar to those of the thirties influenced individuals to leave their native land in the forties. Among the schemes which had evolved in 1842 in Germany for settling emigrants in America was that patronized by certain noblemen. One of the more promising ventures was an association headed by Count Castel, "for the diminution of pauperism by the organized assistance and protection of emigrants." At this time, there was hopeful wishing on the part of a number of individuals that annexation of Texas would become a reality. Consequently, speculators who represented owners of large tracts of Texas land, went to Germany with illuminating stories about the fertility and low cost of the land. These reports won the support of the promoters, who hoped to accumulate wealth and power in America. In 1843, Count Waldeck, as an agent of the association, was sent to Texas. He accomplished very little outside of appropriating a slave plantation for himself. Because of his failure on his mission he was dismissed and the next year the organization renewed its operations with vigor.

Moreover, under the title of *Mainzer Adelsverein,* a charter was granted by the Duke of Nassau, who assumed the protectorate. In addition to the officers of the association, there were over thirty other princes and nobles among the membership. The

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[16] Körner, *Das deutsche Element,* 185.
[17] *Niles' National Register,* LIV (August 4, 1838), 367.

plan for inviting emigrants was published. It offered to each adult who subscribed one hundred and twenty dollars, a free passage, and forty acres of land; to a family who subscribed, two hundred and forty dollars, a free passage, and eighty acres of land. As a further inducement the association undertook to provide log houses, stock, and tools at reasonable prices. It also agreed to erect public buildings and construct roads for the settlement. Instead of procuring a grant directly from the Texas Legislature, the mistake was made of buying a tract of land from private individuals without sufficient examination. Unfortunately, the land was located in the heart of the savage country, hundreds of miles from the romotest settlement, between the Upper Colorado and the great desert plains. Thus the enterprise failed, the association lost its money and its character, and many immigrants were carried to beggary and a miserable end.[18] Even if such information was disseminated, it did not prevent their countrymen from coming to America.

Although noblemen may have won a relatively large number of emigrants for their associations, the clergymen were equally successful with their flocks, but on a smaller scale. In 1846, entire village communities sold their property and started for the promised land. For their guide some had the village parson. The governments of Germany became alarmed, and therefore placed a quarantine against all American publications and prohibited American-German papers in their dominions.

A somewhat exaggerated description of what might meet the eye occasionally on the Strassburg Road pictured a group of Bavarian emigrants with carts, carrying small boxes which contained the few possessions of these people. The carts were drawn by starved, drooping beasts. On top of the boxes sat women and children too exhausted to walk. "One might take it for a convoy of wounded, the relics of a battlefield, but for the rows of little white heads peeping from beneath the ragged hood."[19]

There were also those financially solvent who emigrated in the forties, as was indicated in a letter from Europe which es-

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[18] Frederick L. Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas* (New York, 1857), 173-75.

[19] Edith Abbott, *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem: Select Documents* (Chicago, 1926), 96-97; *Niles' National Register*, LXIX (December 13, 1845), 226; *ibid.*, LXXII (July 24, 1847), 325.

timated that one hundred thousand Germans possessed of five million dollars were making arrangements to go to America.[20] This almost national movement may be attributed to a desire for political and religious freedom.

A letter written back to Germany in June, 1846, from Plymouth, Indiana, by Johann Wolfgang Schreyer stated that independence was "the greatest blessing" of the United States. It was very difficult for him to conceive that there really existed "a country on earth where the worth of an individual" meant so much. Likewise, the fact that there was no conscription in this land and soldiers were hired like servants pleased him. He mentioned in particular the low taxes. Besides, he declared, a man with a large family owed it to his children to emigrate, even if the greatest part of his belongings needed to be sacrificed for the journey. Interviews with other Germans from time to time revealed that "they would at no price return to Germany." Near the end of the detailed letter enumerating the virtues of America, he remarked that Indiana was beautiful.

Three months later a reply by Joh. Melchior Meyer was directed to America. Upon receipt of the Schreyer letter much excitement ensued in Germany and one man admitted he was so happy that he "wept like a child." After the letter had been read in its entirety, a family council was held, whereupon it was decided to follow in the footsteps of the Johann Schreyer family and also settle in that land across the Atlantic. Meyer remarked in his letter that the disease of the potato plant not only prevailed in Germany, but was spreading all over Europe and was called *die Kräuselkrankheit.* Furthermore he stated, prices were very high on food and some feared that a depression was inevitable and would produce even greater hardships than had occurred in 1817.[21]

The desire to emigrate to a land where liberty reigned supreme became very pronounced during and after the disturbances in Europe in 1848. Everywhere the uprisings "signalized the more radical expression of bourgeois sentiment with its insistence that the new preserves of the upper classes must be

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[20] *Niles' National Register,* LXIV (July 15, 1843), 320.

[21] Donald F. Carmony (ed.), "Letter Written by Mr. Johann Wolfgang Schreyer," *Indiana Magazine of History,* XL (1944), 283-306.

abolished . . . The revolutionary spark found much inflammable material in the various principalities of the German Union, which had been held together for the past generation by the skillful reactionary diplomacy of Count Metternich and his Prussian rivals and sympathizers."[22] Those who fled to the United States because of these insurrections were known as the Forty-eighters or Greens.

A man of this group who became very prominent in the Middle West was Carl Schurz. Many of these immigrants entered the field of journalism and at one time controlled approximately half of the German newspapers in the United States.

Germans who came to America before 1848 were known as the "Grays." An outstanding leader among this group was Gustav Körner, who settled in Belleville, Illinois, in 1833, and was contemptuously referred to as *der graue Gustav.* Considerable friction existed between the immigrants who arrived before 1848 and those who came later. The "Grays" were criticized for their poor journalism and ineffectiveness in American politics. Moreover, they were charged as being traitors to the German nationality and as having no love for anything except their own pecuniary interests.[23] Some, however, made a deep imprint on the American frontier.

In the decade of the fifties a total of 951,667 Germans migrated to the United States and in 1854 over two hundred and fifty thousand came. This number was not exceeded until 1882. A failure of the German potato crop between 1852 and 1855, as well as a considerable rise in the price of rye and other foodstuffs, served as an incentive to some people to emigrate. Likewise, from 1850 to 1853 the vintage in Württemberg met a similar fate. Consequently, some people were unable to purchase food because they had no money. A letter from Fleischmühl in 1854 related that it was unlawful "to buy from any farmer or Jew," and that the monthly taxes were prohibitive. It suggested since there was very little work and an individual could not

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[22] A. F. Zucker, *The Forty-eighters, Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York, 1950), 7.

[23] Friedrich Münch, "Die drei Perioden der neueren deutschen Auswanderung nach Nordamerika," *Der Deutsche Pionier,* I (1869), 243-46; Bruncken, "German Political Refugees," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter,* IV, 43.

make an honest living, "it would be a good idea if everybody moved away."[24]

Subsequently, in America projects were also being devised to direct emigrants to the United States. Among these was a movement during the first months of 1854 supported by a number of Chicago businessmen to pass a law creating the office of commissioner of emigration, whose task it would be to travel through Germany and direct emigrants to Illinois. Since the law was never passed, the Germans of Chicago organized a society which employed an agent to take care of the new German immigrants when they arrived in that city.[25] If the number of Germans who located in Chicago can be used as a measuring stick, such plans as were instituted must have been successful.

During the sixties, however, German immigration figures declined to 787,468, which was over a hundred and forty thousand lower than for the previous decade. In all probablity a part of this decrease may be attributed to the Civil War. A letter written from Germany in 1867 lamented about the conditions and the destructiveness of the troops. Everybody was clamoring for money and food because what the troops had not used they destroyed. The harvest was poor and people continued to go into debt. They feared a great war since the soldiers had been mobilized. A shortage of money would prevent emigration. On the other hand, Frederick J. Turner, stated that the period between 1855 and 1866 "was an era of railroad building and the development of manufacture in Germany and prosperity checked the outflow of population.[26]

Various methods were pursued in the Middle West to attract emigrants. Oliver P. Morton in his message to the General Assembly on January 6, 1865, pointed out the importance of adding to Indiana's populaton by immigration from Europe. In order

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[24] From the original letter written to Peter Schmidt in Buffalo, New York, on February 3, 1854, by Schmidt in Fleischmühl, Germany. This letter is in the possession of Robert Irrmann of Beloit, Wisconsin, the great-grandson of Peter Schmidt. Turner, "German Immigration into the United States," Chicago *Record-Herald*, September 4, 1901.

[25] Arthur C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870* (Springfield, Illinois, 1919), 23-24.

[26] From the original letter written to Lampert Schultheis at Ferdinand, Indiana, by John Georg Fischer from Feuerthal, Germany, April 12, 1867. The letter is in the possession of Mrs. Ira Rothrock of Mount Vernon, Indiana, a granddaughter of Lampert Schultheis. Turner, "German Immigration into the United States," Chicago *Record-Herald*, September 4, 1901.

to accomplish his goal he had prepared and published a pamphlet both in English and German setting forth the conditions and resources of the Hoosier State. Two years later in his message he again mentioned immigration and declared that large tracts of country were yet unsettled and that many counties were sparsely settled and could support with ease and comfort a population three or four times larger than the present. Furthermore, he said people would not select Indiana as a home unless they knew something about the state.

Another means by which it was hoped to increase the population was to appoint someone who would acquaint Europeans interested in emigrating with the desirability of selecting Indiana for their future home. For this post Acting Governor Conrad Baker on January 18, 1866, chose John A. Wilstach of Lafayette as Commissioner for the Encouragement of Emigration to the State of Indiana. Since Wilstach was planning to attend the Exposition in Paris in 1867 for the purpose of properly presenting the industrial interests of Indiana, this appeared to be a logical appointment. Baker also requested an appropriation of five thousand dollars as a salary and such other expenses as Wilstach might contract in connection with the position. The appointment was confirmed but without a remuneration.

In 1869, Governor Baker asked for a "small annual expenditure, for the purpose of attracting immigration to the State." He argued that this outlay "if judiciously disbursed, would soon be repaid by the increase of taxable persons and property which would result therefrom." The congressmen, however, were not so enthusiastic about this proposal. Consequently, the bill was amended so that the Governor together with the President and the Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture would constitute the Board of Immigration. No compensation was allowed for their services. Another measure, however, was adopted at the special session of the General Assembly in May, 1869, which gave individuals of foreign birth the right to vote after only six months' residence in Indiana provided they had lived one year in the United States and declared their intention of becoming a citizen.[27] This provision may have attracted Germans to Indiana.

[27] *Indiana House Journal*, 1865, pp. 28-29; *ibid.*, 1867, I, 39; *ibid.*, II,

In spite of devices to lure Germans to America during the latter part of the sixties and again in the seventies, there were approximately seventy thousand less between 1871 and 1880 than in the previous decade. After the Civil War many of the southern states directed their attention to white immigrants to assist with the program of reconstruction. In Charleston, South Carolina, an immigrant aid society was founded and shares were offered to the people which might be paid for either in money or land. Farms and plantations were acquired, and those in charge sought to induce peasants from Europe to become settlers. On February 3, 1866, in Alabama the legislature incorporated a German Association which was expected to promote German immigration to that state by advertising in European papers the possibilities of the soil for white labor. An agent was appointed to reside in Montgomery and empowered to make contracts with German immigrants and with those who wanted to employ them. He was also given authority to procure leases of land or to purchase real estate for those who wished to settle in Alabama.[28] There were Germans who settled in Alabama because of the advertisements in European papers, but some of their relatives continued their journey until they reached Posey County, Indiana.

That the federal government was concerned about the problem of immigration is indicated by the fact that Edward Young, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, made a "Special Report on Immigration" in 1870. The document contained information about prices and rental of land, staple products, facilities of access to market, the cost of livestock, advantages of the particular district, living expenses, and kinds of labor in demand in western and southern states. In 1872 at the expense of the federal government ten thousand copies of the above-mentioned report were printed in German and distributed in Europe.[29] Such action on

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1223-24; *ibid.*, 1869, pp. 62, 597-655; *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1867, II, 786-88, 904-5, 975-76; *Laws of Indiana, Special*, 1869, p. 60.

[28] *Acts of Alabama*, 1865-1866, pp. 254-55; "The South As It Is," *The Nation*, I (1865), 652.

[29] "Special Report on Immigration," *House Executive Documents*, 42 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 1 (serial no. 1470); "Printing of Report on Immigration in the Swedish Language," *ibid.*, 43 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 287 (serial no. 1615). The title of this document is misleading.

the part of the federal government would probably make an impression on people who had given some thought to emigrating.

Nevertheless, the consciousness of the German government concerning the protection of individuals and the rights of the laborer may be regarded as an important factor to induce the Germans to remain at home, and to hinder them from seeking in other lands greater prosperity. Then, too, on the heels of the great financial crash of 1873, which began with the so-called "Black Friday," emigration began to decline until 1877 when it reached its minimum.[30] Not many would want to migrate to a land which was experiencing a depression.

During the decade of the eighties approximately a million and a half Germans came to the United States. The peak, however, was reached in 1882 when over two hundred and fifty thousand arrived. This number has never been matched or surpassed at any time. The first five years of the eighties coincided with a period of prosperity in America. By this time the railroads had perfected their organization for opening the western states, and the steamship companies as well as railroads sent emigration agents to Europe. Since transportation rates were low, even the poor people could take advantage of the opportunity to emigrate to America. Because there was a large exodus, and the German colonial and other associations feared that the emigrants might lose their German nationality and language, an attempt was made to direct them to Brazil, Uruguay, or Paraguay. Furthermore, newspapers were not permitted to receive or accept advertisements which might induce or encourage emigration and no placards relative to emigration could be posted in public places.[31] Yet, information on America was disseminated.

Farmers left because they feared another war, and because there appeared to be no future under the heavy burden of taxation which existed. Young women were interested in emigrating to America because they had heard the rumor that there was a demand for domestic services and that the compensation was much better than in Germany. Both rich and poor emigrated to escape military service, which was considered by the rich as

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[30] "Emigration and Immigration," *ibid.*, 49 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 157 (serial no. 2483), 31, 181.

[31] *Ibid.*, 111, 154.

an inconvenience and by the poor as a hardship. A young man was expected to devote fifteen days each year to military practice and from four to six weeks to maneuvers. The young man who had a position as a clerk or workman frequently lost his position or job by being called to military practice in the midst of his work, or the young farmer was called for a period of four to six weeks for maneuvers just at harvest time, when it was practically impossible to leave. As many as ten or twelve young men were caught each week trying to escape from future military service.[32] Apparently because of what might be achieved, it was worth a try.

Some were interested in emigrating because they were compelled to work beneath their station in life and would rather starve than engage in work which their associates regarded as disgraceful. In America no one needed to be ashamed of honest work. A carpenter who had difficulty in finding employment at his trade emigrated to the United States where he might chop wood or engage in some other type of work until an opening developed in his craft. At times German army officers had to resign commissions because they were unable to pay a gambling debt, or for some other reason. An officer might emigrate to the United States and there achieve success by herding cattle in Texas, which would have been considered a disgrace to his entire family if he had engaged in such an occupation where he was born.[33]

Then, too, the father of a family frequently felt it was his duty to lift his children to a position of security and happiness. He wanted to free them from the thought of spending their last years in a poorhouse or having to depend upon charity. In his estimation it appeared that the opportunity for the solution of his problem could be found in America. There it was possible to get fertile land cheap out of his small savings on more favorable terms than at home and become a property owner, which position he could seldom hope to attain in his country. In Germany the original states had been divided into smaller areas for a number of generations until the tracts had become so small that

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[32] *Ibid.*, 152, 154, 175.
[33] *Ibid.*, 152-53.

it was impossible to support a family.[34] No doubt some had visions of enough land in the United States to produce most of their food and also reserve a small plot for flowers to beautify their premises.

During the last ten years of the nineteenth century German immigration declined to slightly over five hundred and five thousand. Either the economic conditions of Germany had improved and the attractions of America had diminished or else the new colonial policy of Bismarck kept many wavering. New measures had been adopted to colonize at home. Moreover, in Leipzig the press was antagonistic to emigration and refused to publish favorable reports which might tend to increase emigration. It may be assumed that among the factors which discouraged Germans to choose America were the depression of 1893, the dissatisfaction and depression in the West, as well as the reduction of desirable public lands. It is apparent, therefore, that when the workshops, shipyards, and factories in America were operating to capacity, and when good crops and remunerative prices enabled the American farmer to enjoy the luxuries of life, the emigration from Germany was high, whereas in years of depression or stagnation of business in America emigration invariably declined. The bad condition of the labor market in America had a direct effect on emigration in that fewer prepaid tickets were sent to friends abroad. In Germany, no doubt, the progressive, industrial, and peaceful political policy of the Emperor carried considerable weight in the decline of emigration.[35]

Regardless of when Germans came, many were cautious and did not emigrate blindly. Most of them, particularly in the latter half of the nineteenth century, knew where they were going, what they expected to find, and how they would reach their destination. Their tickets usually were issued directly to an inland point in America. Although a popular port of embarkation for them was Bremen, it was also the choice of other nationalities. Among these were Polish emigrants who were going to

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[34] *Ibid.*, 131, 204, 164, 240; Joseph Schafer, "The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, VI (1922-1923), 143.

[35] "Emigration and Immigration," *House Executive Documents*, 49 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 157, pp. 109, 197, 180-81; "Special Consular Reports," *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 19 (serial no. 2974), 247; Turner, "German Immigration into the United States," Chicago *Record-Herald*, September 4, 1901.

America and did not understand just where they were going, whether it was North or South America. To them it was all America. The Germans, however, were well-supplied with maps and could point out to the casual inquirer exactly the place of their several destinations. For instance, a chairmaker who planned to join his brother in San Francisco took delight in showing a prepaid ticket from Bremen to that city. Moreover, the Germans had boxes, trunks, and chests nailed up, full of cherished possessions, but the Poles and Bohemians had only what was on their backs. For example, in a group of twenty-four Poles the only baggage that could be found was twenty-four pipes. If they did have baggage, their *vivandiere* carried it. The young men never gave this pack bearer a lift, but the poor woman with bended back always brought up the rear.[36] It was possible to make an estimate of the financial status of emigrants on the basis of the baggage which they took along.

That most of the travelers from the fatherland knew their destination cannot be disputed nor can fluctuations in German immigration figures during the nineteenth century be denied. No attempt has been made to list all of the causes instrumental in this vacillation. Likewise, it has not been possible to mention all the areas where Germans settled. A chapter could be written on their settlements in each state of the Middle West, some of which would be more colorful than others. Only a few illustrations have been given of their locations and what may have influenced them in migrating to the United States. Yet, those who came built a structure with mortar carefully prepared and with each brick meticulously laid which still stands as a living monument in the form of art, literature, music, education, political institutions, and ways of life.

How much of an imprint the German immigrants of the twentieth century will make still remains to be seen. The figures for the first five decades reveal that they did not emigrate in large numbers. In fact, only fifty-two came to America in 1919. The highest figure recorded since 1888 was 128,592 in 1950. This larger migration at the end of the first fifty years of the century

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[36] "Emigration and Immigration," *House Executive Documents*, 49 Cong., 2 Sess., no. 157, p. 153; "Special Consular Reports," *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 19, pp. 255, 257.

may be attributed to the disturbances current in Germany and her neighboring countries. Recent German visitors to the United States have indicated a desire for security. Many Germans reaped the harvest which the seeds of two world wars in the twentieth century produced on European and Asiatic soils. They saw century-old buildings crumble in a few minutes by man-made devices of destruction; the excruciating sufferings endured by human beings; and the lifeless bodies of men, women, and children buried under debris. Their eyes are now cast in the direction of a United Europe and world planning for a more stable society.

II

Posey County Sought and Settled

In order that the early pioneers might have ample supply of meat and constant practice in expert marksmanship, they wandered far and wide. On these hunting expeditions they frequently discovered new areas which appeared to offer a more promising future than their present abode could assure them. Such was the case with the male members of the Andrew McFaddin family. During the last decade of the eighteenth century while on one of these excursions, they visited the vicinity of the present site of Mount Vernon. These North Carolinians, who earlier had settled in Bowling Green, Kentucky, being favorably impressed with the high and dry location, moved on about 1805 to this particular district in Indiana Territory and squatted on the land. Soon rivermen came to consider this an ideal landing place; and flatboat voyagers ere long christened the locality McFaddin's Bluff.[1]

After the home seekers and the rivermen, came the surveyors. Robert Buntin, George Claypoole, Arthur Henrie, and Daniel Sullivan devoted the first six months of 1806 to dragging their chains through forests, across streams, and over the hills of the region that was to become Posey County. Since the field notes of these early surveyors, descriptive of soil, trees, and other types of vegetation,[2] were so favorable as to influence the rapidity with which land sold in this southwesterly corner of Indiana Territory, there is every reason to presume that the contents of these reports became known to others.

Unfortunately, the failure of the McFaddins to carry out their intentions of entering the land on which they had squatted soon after the surveys had been completed caused them inconvenience and additional expense. None other than William Henry Harrison, territorial governor and Virginia aristocrat from Vincennes, was the "culprit" who was also impressed with the

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[1] Goodspeed Publishing Co., *History of Posey County, Indiana* (Chicago, 1886), 357.

[2] Surveyors' Field Notes, South and West, IX, X, XI. A complete file of field notes is in the possession of the State Auditor's Office, Indianapolis, Indiana.

conspicuous site chosen by the McFaddins. Accordingly, on May 25, 1807, the Virginian staked his claims to that area by entering land to the extent of 371.82 acres. Harrison, however, was not the first to visit the government land office for real estate within the environs of this extreme southwestern section between the Ohio and Wabash rivers. He had been preceded by four other men. On May 22, 1807, Samuel Alldredge, a North Carolinian, had purchased 174.44 acres; William Wier, 651.44 acres; Jabez Jones, 354.53 acres; and on the following day Thomas Jones, an Irishman and first white settler in the county who had arrived the latter part of the eighteenth century and who had located near the mouth of the Wabash, became the owner of 573.32 acres.[3]

Each year thereafter land sales were recorded. By December 11, 1816, the date upon which Indiana achieved statehood, over sixty-six thousand acres had been purchased. That the peak year was reached in 1814, may be attributed to the fact that George Rapp and associates in that year possessed the largest holdings. The next two years showed a decided decline in land sales.[4] Interestingly enough, the majority of those who made purchases in this wilderness chose the northern part of the county.

From the landholdings, it is obvious that the financial status of numerous owners was more than moderate during the territorial days. Several men were able to purchase entire sections.

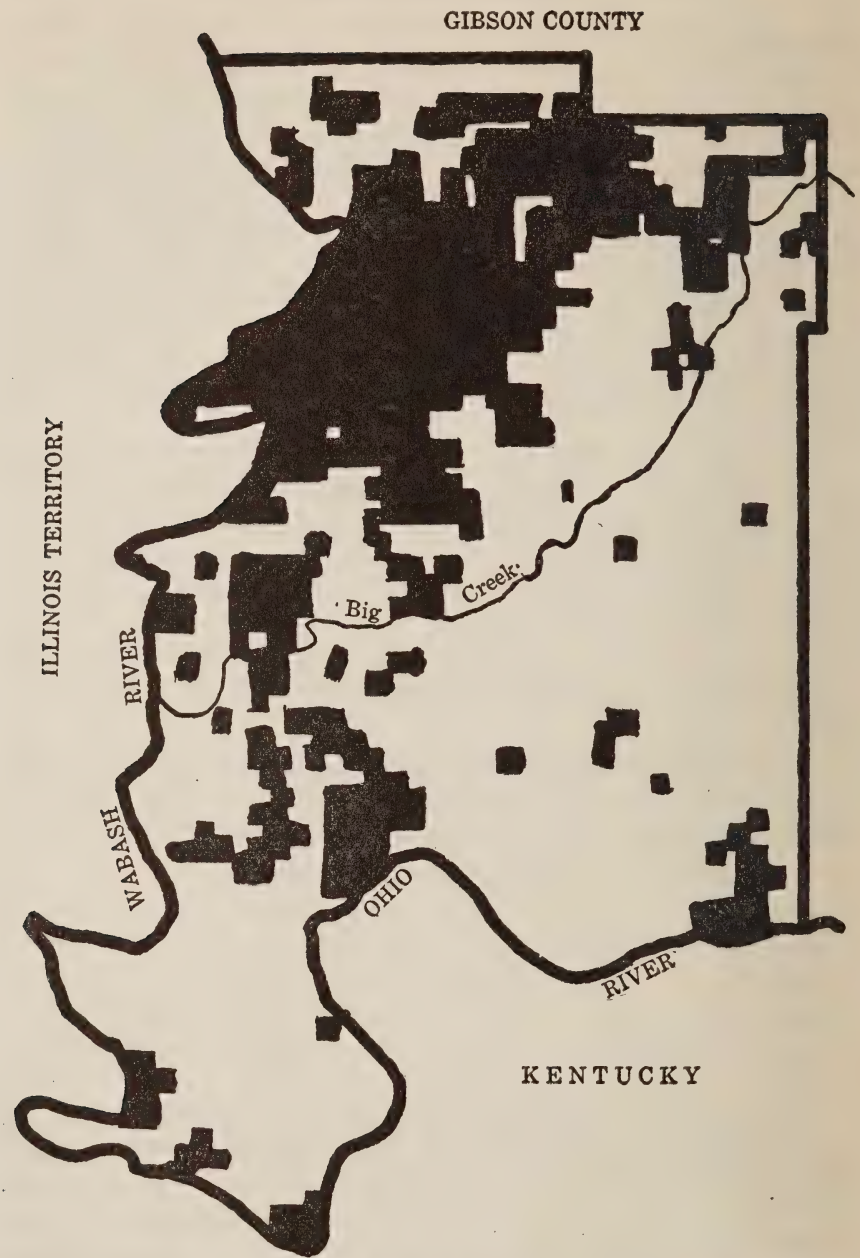
Land Sales 1807 to 1816

Year	Acres	Year	Acres
1807	4,609.02	1812	1,790.52
1808	1,218.71	1813	2,722.89
1809	1,273.00	1814	23,088.80
1810	2,366.13	1815	13,276.47
1811	4,745.07	1816	11,350.93

Settlement did not necessarily keep pace with land sales. As an illustration may be cited Governor Harrison, who probably intended to play the role of a speculator. Other men of means who purchased land on a relatively large scale soon after the

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[3] Goodspeed, *History of Posey County*, 317; Government Original Entry Book, Posey County, Indiana, 51, 52, 78, 79.
[4] Government Original Entry Book, 1-79.



Map of Posey County showing land purchased from May 22, 1807, to December 4, 1816. The boundary lines here shown are as of 1860. That portion of Posey County which became a part of Vanderburgh County is not included.

surveys had been completed hoped that the returns on their investment would later net them a sizable sum. On the other hand, some bought the minimum amount of acres with the intention of settling in a particular region. Families frequently migrated in the hope of improving their financial status. Then, too, in a number of instances several families would join to form a regular colony and begin the trek for more promising lands. In either case, if a land route was followed, the wagon became the more popular conveyance during the first part of the nineteenth century. This vehicle varied in shape and size as much as those who used it. All types in every possible condition lined the trails. After bouncing over a trace, it was not unusual to find one with a broken axle or wheel.

Equally important in populating Posey County was water transportation. Among the early river conveyances was the keelboat, a long sharp vessel, which drew very little water. When loaded, the hull was practically immersed. The deck or roof of this type of boat was approximately six feet high and covered on all sides as a protection against inclement weather. This covering left a foot-wide passage called the running board, which ran along the gunwale and dwindled to a narrower width at the stem and stern. The eight to twelve oars placed at the bow were used only in descending the river. When these were used, the boat was propelled from two or three miles an hour faster than the current, which had an average velocity of around three miles an hour. It was thus possible to travel a hundred miles in twenty-four hours. In going up stream, poles were used to propel the boat; and the passage was extremely wearisome, averaging only ten or twenty miles a day.[5] Notwithstanding the fact that the keelboat was slow, it played no small part in bringing people west.

The flatboat or broadhorn used by many who followed a water route, was a mere raft, with sides and a roof but more spacious and comfortable than the keelboat, if well built and tight. An immense oar was placed on the roof on each side near the bow and another at the stern. Since the flatboat may be permitted to float with the current, the oars were used only to direct the course. Because of the size of this craft, the family household

[5] James Hall, *Letters from the West* (London, 1828), 323.

furnishings as well as horses, hogs, cattle, sheep, and fowl could be brought on one boat. Some flatboats contained apartments equipped with chairs, beds, tables, and stoves. Occasionally, several families built or purchased such a boat in partnership. By means of a book, such as the *Ohio Pilot,* they attempted to study the mysteries of navigation.[6] Whether they mastered all the rules and regulations is not known.

A river journey was tedious and those who employed an experienced boatman were not only piloted down the stream but frequently entertained with river melodies usually sung with a great deal of feeling. Among them were:

> Here's to those that has old clothes,
> And never a wife to mend 'em;
> A plague on those that has halfjoes,
> And has'n't a heart to spend 'em!
>
> Some rows up, but we rows down,
> All the way to Shawnee town,
> Pull away—pull away![7]

While the flatboat went only down stream, it was popular on the Ohio from Pittsburgh to Indiana and transported many who settled in Posey County.

Steamboats also brought immigrants down the Ohio and up the Mississippi. Even with their interior furnishings of curled maple and other beautiful woods of the region, conditions on some of the early boats were undesirable. Men and women slept on deck without mattress or covering. Furthermore, the jug was passed around freely and some became inebriated. The boards of the berths on some boats did not always support the occupant, and occasionally a man in an upper berth fell on the passenger in the berth below, producing exuberant screams from both.[8] Although it was a serious incident for the participants, the action thereafter resembled a comic opera. Such happenings only aided in rounding the corners for what might follow on the frontier.

Immigrant traffic to the West by train did not assume im-

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[6] *Ibid.*, 324; Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (Boston, 1826), 13; Timothy Flint, *The History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley* (2 volumes in one, Cincinnati, 1832), I, 185.

[7] Hall, *Letters from the West,* 92, 94.

[8] J. S. Buckingham, *The Eastern and Western States of America* (3 vols., London, n.d.), III, 210-11.

portant proportions until the 1850's. The first iron highway through Posey County was the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, completed in 1870.[9] It served those who traveled east or west from Mount Vernon.

Some individuals who emigrated to the county used neither the wagon, keelboat, flatboat, steamboat, nor the train. Adventurous, unattached young men came on horseback with what little possessions they could carry in this fashion. Yet, some did not even own a horse. They trudged along on foot with staff, bottle, and knapsack until they reached their destination.

The county was settled by men and women from all walks of life—some poor and some possessed of material means—coming by their several ways and modes of travel. "The very fact of the wilderness appealed to men as a fair blank page on which to write a new chapter in the story of man's struggle for a higher type of society."[10]

The influences which determined their decisions to come were as varied as were their modes of transportation. Such an illuminating account as that which Hezekiah Niles published in 1814 may have moved some to choose Posey County. *"Indiana territory,"* wrote Niles, "is also a great tract of rich land, watered by fine streams, especially the *Ohio* and *Wabash* . . . . It is singularly happy in having but a very few *slaves,* the bane of industry and curse of improvement . . . . The spirit of the people is opposed to their introduction; and, as we desire the improvement of delightful *Indiana,* we hope that good spirit may continue as long as the Mississippi rolls water to the sea!"[11] If anyone was anticipating possible emigration, the question must have been settled after reading such an article.

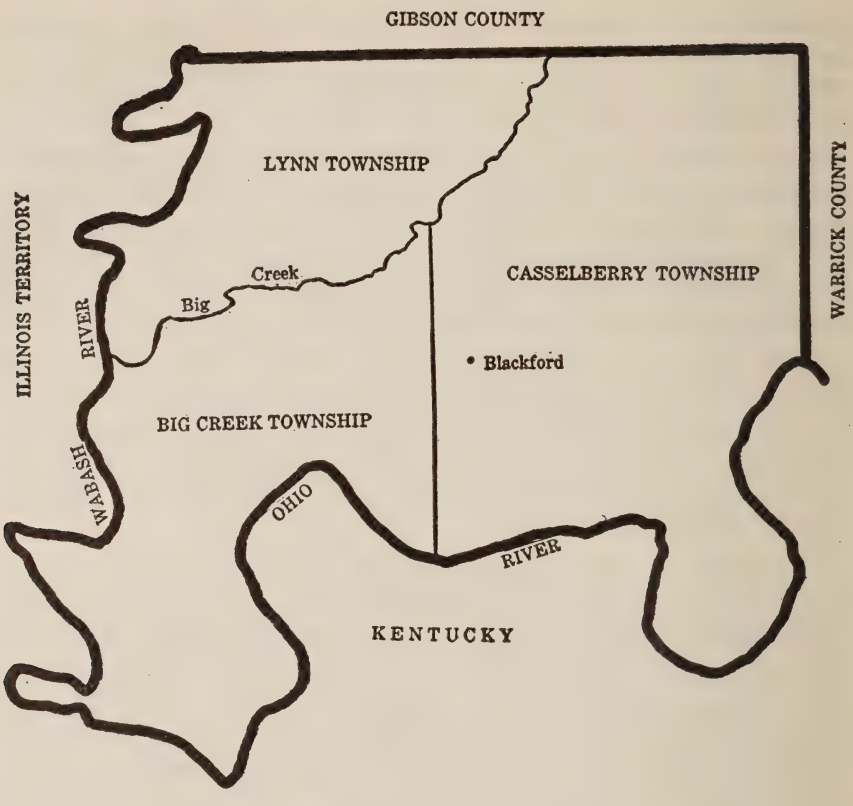
A large number of early settlers who migrated north of the Ohio did so because of slavery. Some were too proud to work among the slaves and too poor to own a plantation. The inflow of the "poor white" was made up in part of restless hunters and thriftless settlers who moved along without any definite ambitions, and in part of other classes who transferred to a new

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[9] John C. Leffel, *History of Posey County, Indiana* (Chicago, 1915), 188.

[10] Frederick J. Turner, "Contributions of the West to American Democracy," *Atlantic Monthly,* XCI (1903), 92.

[11] *Niles' Weekly Register,* VI (August 6, 1814), 394.



Map of Posey County in 1815

region with the hope that they might improve their standard of living.[12]

As the population increased, it became necessary for some type of government to be inaugurated; and this entailed division into smaller units. Consequently, the territorial assembly on September 7, 1814, approved an act to create a new county out of Warrick and Gibson counties to be "designated by the name and style of the county of Posey." At the time of the passage of the act, Thomas Posey was the governor of Indiana Territory. Until it should become possible to construct a courthouse, the house of Absalom Duckworth was selected for the transaction

[12] Logan Esarey, "Internal Improvements in Early Indiana," Indiana Historical Society *Publications*, V (1915), 51; Frederick J. Turner, "Dominant Forces in Western Life," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXIX (1897), 434.

of business. This home was used through May 1, 1815, when William Hutcheson offered his home rent free for the use of the county. Robert W. Tevault, William Briscoe, Joseph English, Adam Young, and Samuel Snider all of Warrick County were appointed commissioners to meet on the third Monday in November for the purpose of choosing a seat of justice. This group met and selected three hundred and twenty acres of land. In 1815 they ordered that Blackford, named in honor of Isaac Blackford, be the seat of justice. In the same year the boundaries for three townships were announced. Big Creek was named for the stream which served as its northern border; Casselberry may have been selected in honor of Thomas Casselberry, an early settler; and Lynn chosen to honor Daniel Lynn, an early pioneer in the region of that township from Kentucky, who became a prominent figure in Indiana's first constitutional convention.[13]

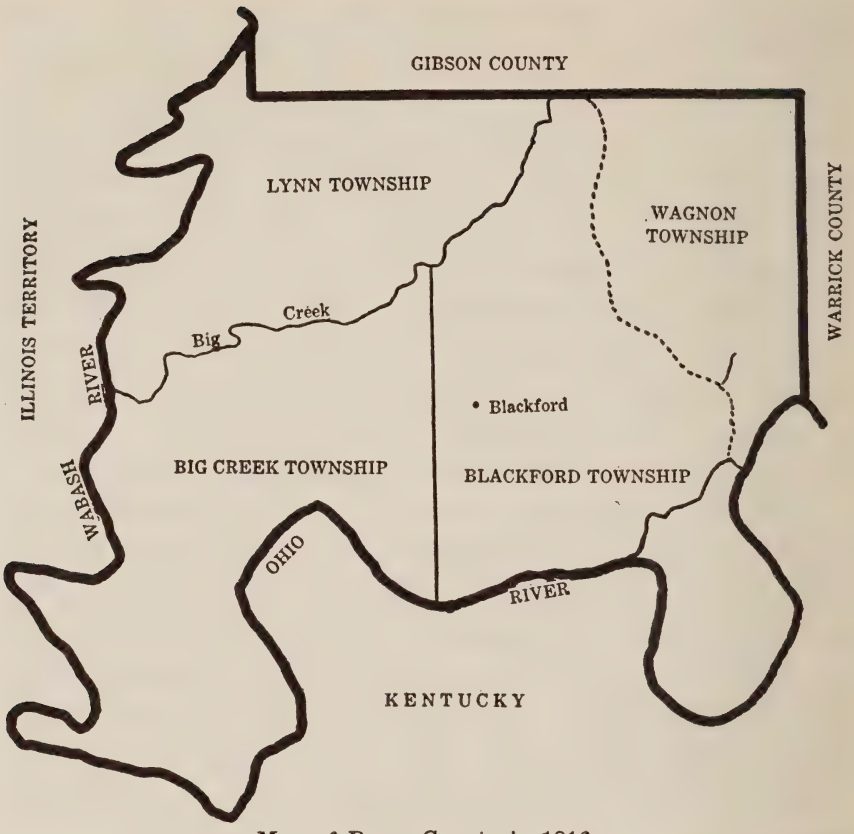
In the following year the name of Casselberry Township was changed to Blackford. It was also reduced in size by the formation of another township probably named for William Wagnon who was living there at that time.[14] The exact boundary between the two townships is difficult to indicate because the one stream and road mentioned in the Commissioners' Record have not been located. Since there are no official maps for this period nor surveyors' field notes which show or mention Elldredge's Creek and Black River Road, a broken line has been used to designate the approximate division between the two townships.

By 1817, there was some dissatisfaction about the location of the seat of justice. The main agitator for a change was Frederick Rapp. He was convinced that the prospect for future settlement was more promising northwest of Big Creek. Since the proposed site which he advocated would be on land owned by him, he donated one hundred acres. Apparently the legislature did not regard the request unreasonable, for on January 1, 1817, Walter Wilson of Knox County, John Brazelton and Isaac Montgomery of Gibson County, Hugh McGary of Warrick County, and Adam Hope of Pike County were appointed commissioners

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[13] *Acts of the Indiana Territory,* 1814, pp. 18-19, 20-21; Order Book, Probate A, January, 1815, to April, 1827, Posey County, Indiana, 1, 3-4, 7-8, 12-13, 18-21, 25.

[14] Order Book, Probate A, 98.

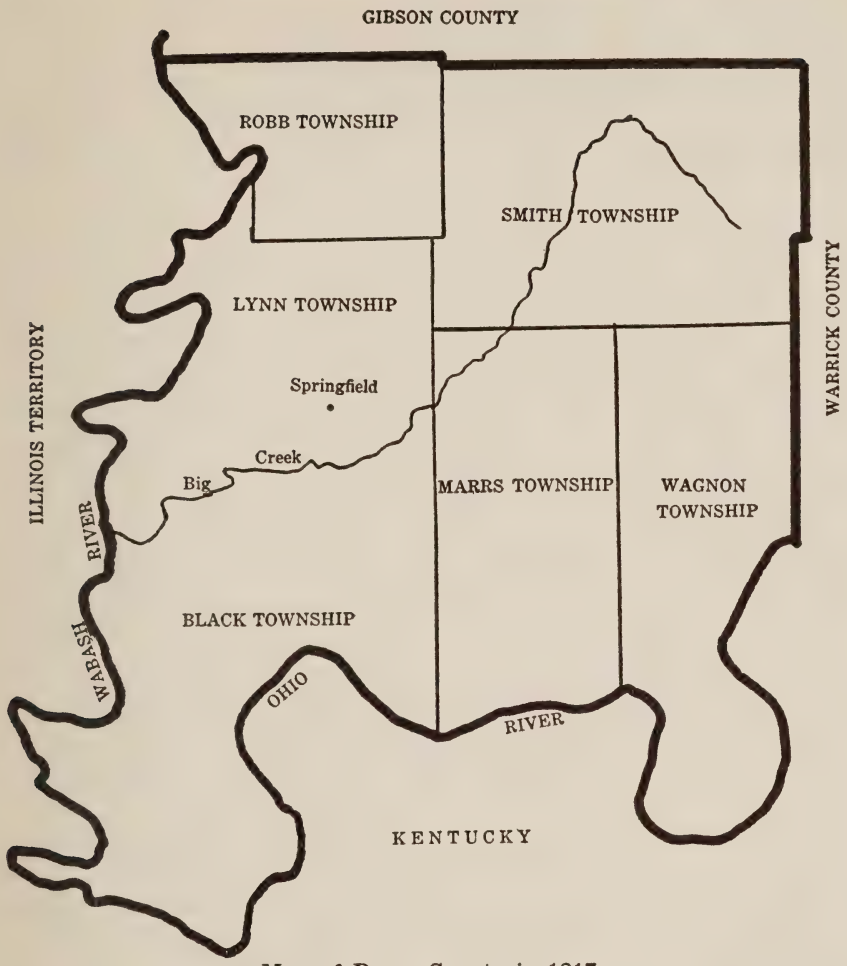


Map of Posey County in 1816

to consider the matter of the relocation of the county seat. They met at the home of Elias Allitzer, accepted the offer of Rapp, and named the new town Springfield.[15]

In the same year three new townships were created. Marrs was named in honor of Samuel R. Marrs, an early pioneer and one of the first county commissioners, who died in 1819. Another township was designated Robb to recognize Thomas Robb, an Irishman, who settled in the northwestern part of the county in 1808. George R. Smith, a North Carolinian, was also honored by having a township named for him. Moreover, beginning in

[15] Commissioners' Record A, 1817-1819, Posey County, Indiana, 8, 28, 34, 51-52, 170; *Laws of Indiana*, 1816-1817, pp. 202-3; Deed Record A, Posey County, Indiana, 240.



Map of Posey County in 1817

1817, Big Creek Township was called Black in recognition of Thomas Black, another North Carolinian, who came in 1806 and settled on a farm a short distance northwest of Mount Vernon.[16] There were now six townships in Posey County.

Nevertheless, county boundary lines did not remain stationary. In 1816 and 1817 a portion of Gibson County was added on to the northern part of Posey. Then, in 1818 when Vander-

[16] Commissioners' Record A, 3-5; Order Book, Probate A, 135, 180; Goodspeed, *History of Posey County*, 311, 282, 292, 265, 610, 633.

burgh County was created, a section of eastern Posey territory was designated to become a part of the new county. Three years later another fraction of northeastern Posey, which gave the appearance of a handle, was attached to Vanderburgh County. The last boundary change occurred in 1823 when a small area from Gibson County was added to the northwestern part of Posey County.[17]

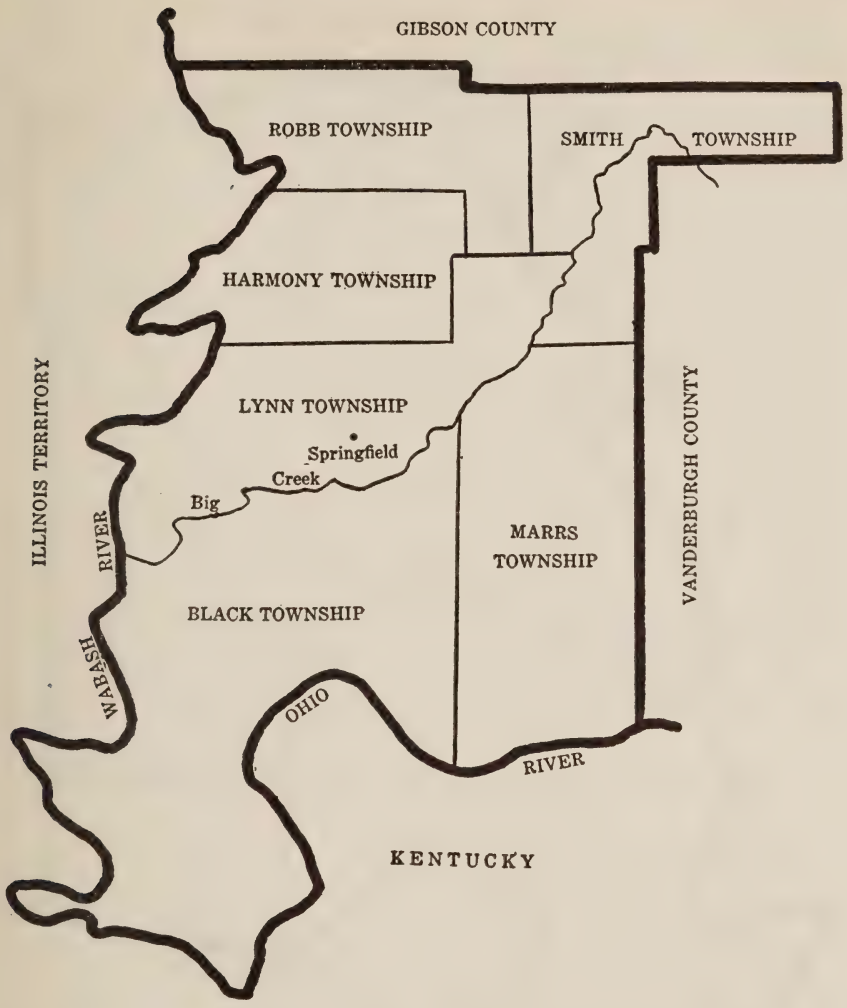
In 1818, Harmony Township was formed. Since Vanderburgh County was established in that year, all of Wagnon Township and a portion of Smith Township became a part of the new county. The new township was named for the Harmonites who began to settle there in 1814. Three more townships were created in 1821. Bethel in the extreme northwestern corner of the county was named for P. C. Bethel, the first white man to settle within the area of the Township. Another township was designated as Robinson to recognize Jonathan Robinson. It was located between Marrs and Smith townships. John Daniel, an early pioneer, was honored by having the third township bear his name. This designation, however, was of short duration. During the following year, the name was changed to Point, appropriately selected because of its location. In 1859 the last township was established and called Center.[18] Since that date, there have been ten townships in Posey County.

The relocation fever was just as successful in obtaining victims for the seat of justice as for township boundaries. After seven years Springfield did not prove to be as flourishing a town as had been anticipated. Consequently, Jesse Y. Welborn, John Burlison, and Darius North advocated that the county seat be transferred to the banks of the Ohio River. They made liberal land donations for this purpose. The legislature must have regarded the petition worthy of consideration, for in 1825 James Smith and James Stewart of Gibson County, Amos Clark and Jay Morehouse of Vanderburgh County, and Richard Daniel of Knox County were appointed commissioners to relocate the seat of justice. At a meeting of this group, the vicinity of McFaddin's

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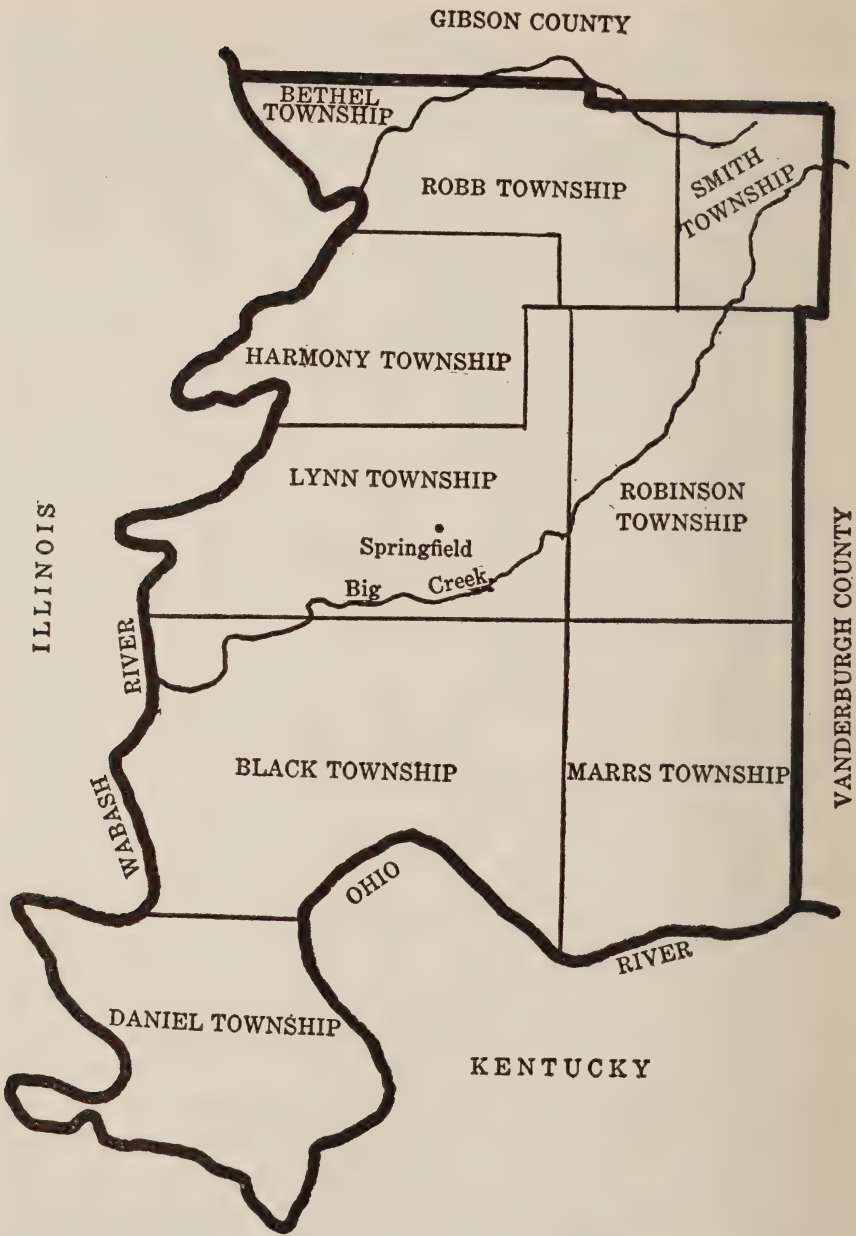
[17] *Acts of Indiana Territory*, 1815, pp. 7-8; *Laws of Indiana*, 1816-1817, pp. 202-3; *ibid., Special*, 1817-1818, p. 22; *ibid.*, 1821-1822, p. 120; *ibid.*, 1822-1823, p. 116.

[18] Commissioners' Record A, 100; *ibid.*, B, 1820-1829, pp. 26, 38, 60; *ibid.*, M, 1855-1860, p. 188; Goodspeed, *History of Posey County*, 323, 320; Leffel, *History of Posey County*, 77.



Map of Posey County in 1818

Bluff was selected and the town designated Mount Vernon. As early as 1816, a town plat had been made but not until it was chosen for the county seat did it give evidence of new life. On July 4, 1825, the first court was held in the new town. In the following year, the first public sale of lots took place. Ten years earlier plats had been made. The town grew rapidly, and not only rivaled Evansville in the early days but surpassed the latter



Map of Posey County in 1821

in numbers and commercial importance.[19] Evansville, however, less advantageously located, has become a great industrial center and Mount Vernon has never gone above the town status. Whether this can be attributed to sentimentality, aesthetic feeling, or opposition to industry on the part of some inhabitants who were in authority remains unknown.

At the time when Mount Vernon became the county seat, an important industry was engaged in making barrels which used a large number of hoop-poles. On one occasion when ten to fifteen flatboats had docked at the wharf, their owners, rough rivermen, visited the taverns and grogshops. Having consumed a large amount of spiritous liquor, they became unusually loud and merry, ending up in a quarrel with the townsmen. As a last resort, the latter invaded the nearest cooper shop, armed themselves with heavy hoop-poles, descended upon the flatboatmen, and forced them back to their crafts. Since the rivermen had been bruised and wounded, they were afraid to return to the town. As they floated down the river, residents inquired as to where they had engaged in a battle. Many jokes were made, and finally the term "hoop-pole" was applied to a township in the county. There was a time when people actually believed such a township existed, and that its inhabitants were "greener than any others on the earth."[20]

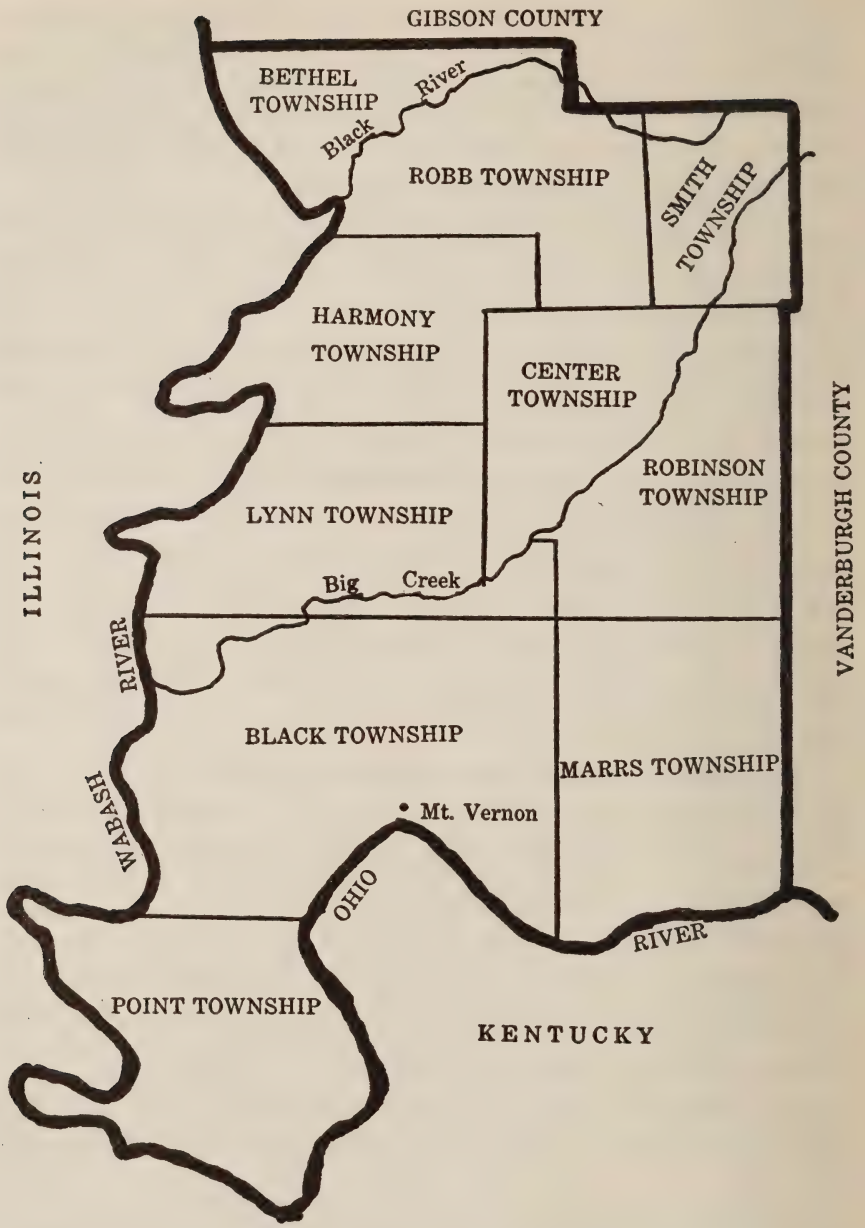
The Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, while traveling in the United States, took a journey down the Ohio and stopped at Mount Vernon on April 2, 1826. He did not record his impressions of the three hundred inhabitants, but stated that the town was favorably located for trade, laid out on an extensive plan, and had only frame houses. The streets were disappointing to him because the roots of felled trees had not been removed and the woods began directly behind the houses. New houses were encircled by trees. After a visit to New Harmony, he returned to Mount Vernon on April 24 to continue his journey up the river on the "General Neville." In his journal an entry for that day stated that he was very happy to "escape from this disagreeable place."[21]

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[19] Deed Record A, 84-85, 22, 68-69; *Laws of Indiana*, 1825, pp. 90-92; Commissioners' Record B, 196-97, 204, 247-48; Goodspeed, *History of Posey County*, 361.

[20] Goodspeed, *History of Posey County*, 365.

[21] Bernhard, *Travels through North America*, II, 106, 218.



Map of Posey County since 1860

Six years later another German nobleman visited Mount Vernon, arriving on October 18, 1832. After spending the night at an undesirable guest house, he proceeded on to New Harmony. Since he remained in the latter town until March 16, he must have been favorably impressed by that region. The roads, however, were disappointing to him. Since he was particularly interested in the flora and fauna, he made detailed notes on the plant and animal life which he saw; and especially remarked about the beautiful trees in Indiana. At the time of his stay in Mount Vernon, he estimated there were about six hundred inhabitants living there, with five doctors to look after the health of the citizens. He was very much impressed with the view up and down the river as well as the forests of the area which were traversed by deer and wild turkeys; but was disappointed in the drinking water. The prince made the comment that about a third of the buildings were brick. After spending two days in Mount Vernon, he continued his journey down the river to Shawneetown on the "Conveyance."[22] Probably because of its location Mount Vernon received such distinguished visitors.

Towns which were designated as the seat of justice from time to time were not necessarily the first settlements. Small communities had come into existence before a formal organization of the county had taken place. Among these was the "Albright Settlement" on Big Creek, a short distance removed from the Wabash River. It was named for Adam Albright and his three sons, Adam, William, and John, who had migrated to this region in 1807 from North Carolina, but did not purchase land until September 19, 1811. A year after the county had been created a colony of forty-four persons arrived from Cynthiana, Kentucky, and settled near the present site of Poseyville. Oddly enough, Jonathan Jaquess, a member of this party, had entered over eight hundred acres of land in this region as early as 1811 and four years before actual settlement was made.[23] This is another indication to prove that land purchases and settlement did not necessarily coincide in point of time.

The largest colony, however, to make an imprint upon the

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[22] *Reise in das innere Nord-America in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834 von Maximilian Prinz zu Wied* (2 vols., Coblenz, 1839), I, 161, 217-18.

[23] Government Original Entry Book, 1, 3, 64; Leffel, *History of Posey County*, 46, 51.

soil of Posey County was the so-called society of Harmony. It had its origin in Württemberg, Germany, from a schism in the Lutheran church about 1785. One hundred and fifty families under the guidance of George Rapp, their pastor, emigrated to America in 1804 and settled in Pennsylvania. After nine years in America, the society had acquired considerable wealth and wished to find a more favorable location. Hence, Frederick Rapp, one of their members and an adopted son of George Rapp, was sent on a tour of observation with instructions that a healthy site, good land, water power, and convenient river communication were to be considered in making the choice. He traveled for several months and finally decided on the present site of New Harmony and the adjoining country. The society sold their possessions in 1814 in Pennsylvania for one hundred thousand dollars. In June of that year approximately one hundred persons started down the Ohio River in flatboats for this wilderness in Indiana Territory on the Wabash River. Another detachment came in the fall of 1814, and the remainder arrived the following spring. A tedious journey down the Ohio and exposure to the inclemencies of the season caused much suffering and sickness, and their number was reduced by death. Just how many were in the colony in 1814 is not known, but in 1810 there were one hundred and forty families, consisting of between seven and eight hundred individuals. In the fall of 1817, another group of one hundred and thirty Germans from Württemberg arrived. Many of these immigrants were either relatives or acquaintances of the original members.[24] The Rappites were determined to attain the honest and praiseworthy goal which they had set for themselves.

George Rapp and associates purchased their first land of 2,435 acres in Posey County on May 9, 1814. During the remaining months of that year they bought 5,370 additional acres. In the following year 4,319 acres were purchased, and in 1816 and 1817, Frederick Rapp added 1,920 acres to their holdings. Land was also purchased in the adjoining counties of Gibson

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[24] New Harmony *Gazette*, October 1, 1825; John C. Andressohn, "The Arrival of the Rappites at New Harmony," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XLII (1946), 395-409; John C. Andressohn, "Twenty Additional Rappite Manuscripts," *ibid.*, XLIV (1948), 83-108; Aaron Williams, *The Harmony Society* (Pittsburgh, 1866), 39, 54, 60-62.

and Pike in Indiana and White County in Illinois.[25] No other colony or group of individuals accumulated land on such a large scale.

Elias P. Fordham, an English traveler who visited the colony in 1818, said that their cooking and dress was exactly the same as it had been on the banks of the Rhine. He commented on their log houses which were "surrounded by a neat kitchen and flower garden, paled in." In his estimation they were great musicians because they studied "music as a science." Another English traveler, Adlard Welby, made similar remarks in 1821. He added that the women were "the *least handsome*" he had ever beheld.[26] The impressions of other travelers vary only slightly from those of Fordham and Welby.

After ten years in Indiana, the Rappites were anxious to return to Pennsylvania. George Rapp, therefore, commissioned Richard Flower to sell their real estate. Shortly after Flower accepted this assignment, he visited Robert Owen at Braxfield. At that time Owen was unhappy because a number of his plans had failed to materialize. Flower suggested Harmony as a possible site for Owen to put into practical operation his plans for communistic colonization which he had publicly advocated for some time. Robert Dale Owen stated that the offer tempted his father. "Here was a village ready built, a territory capable of supporting tens of thousands in a country where the expression of thought was free, and where the people were unsophisticated." Robert Dale listened with delight to Flower's account of frontier life. When Owen asked his son "what say you—New Lanark or Harmony?", Robert Dale answered without hesitation, "Harmony." Flower could not conceal his amazement when he discovered Owen was interested in Harmony.[27] A number of outstanding individuals were attracted to New Harmony during the Owen period.

Another small colony, formed approximately four miles north of Mount Vernon, may have slightly preceded the Rappites. According to the county histories, Samuel Phillips settled at

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[25] Government Original Entry Book, 33-41.

[26] Elias P. Fordham, *Personal Narrative of Travels*, ed. Frederic A. Ogg (Cleveland, 1906), 207; Adlard Welby, *A Visit to North America* (London, 1821), 129-132.

[27] Robert Dale Owen, *Threading My Way* (New York, 1874), 239-41.

Farmersville in 1812. Since there are no land entries recorded for him before Indiana became a state, he may have squatted on the land of his choice or there may be an error about the date of his arrival. The first settlers who came to this region were mainly from New England and consequently this small community was known as the Yankee Settlement or sometimes called Yankeetown. Because the village was at the corner of four farms, it was also referred to as "the Corners."[28]

A colony of approximately forty members came from the vicinity of Cynthiana, Kentucky, in 1817. On March 6 of that year, their leader, William Davis, laid out the town of Cynthiana.[29] In all probability they named their new abode for the village from which they had migrated. Strange surroundings did not change the nostalgia and remembrances of a former settlement. There is also a story current in the county that Davis named the town for his two daughters.

In addition to the communities already mentioned there are many more scattered throughout the county. Blairsville was platted in 1837 by Stephen Blair; New Baltimore, in 1837 by Ebenezer Phillips; Stewartsville, in 1838 by John Cox (and at first known as Paris, but when the postoffice was established there in 1853 the name was changed upon the request of William Stewart and James Casey). West Franklin was settled as early as 1807, but the plat was not recorded until 1839. Since this was a favorite crossing for emigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina, the Diamond Island Ferry did a lucrative business. Poseyville was surveyed by James Smith on February 18, 1840, and called Palestine until 1852. Grafton was platted by William F. Phillips in 1852, and named for Grafton, Illinois. Wadesville was laid out on February 12, 1853, by Daniel Leffel, James Pelt, and William Moye. Before the town was platted it was known as Cross Roads. In 1853 the name was changed to honor Zachariah Wade, a North Carolinian. Winfield in the northern part of Harmony Township was surveyed in 1855, by John D. Moye. It is sometimes referred to as Bugtown. In 1860 a postoffice known as Hickory Branch was established in the

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[28] Goodspeed, *History of Posey County*, 410; Leffel, *History of Posey County*, 116; James M. Mathes, *Life of Elijah Goodwin, The Pioneer Preacher* (St. Louis, 1880), 91, 116.

[29] Deed Record A, 280-81; Goodspeed, *History of Posey County*, 407.

northwest corner of Marrs Township. Sixteen years later the postoffice was removed to Caborn Station which had been laid out in 1871 by Cornelius Caborn. Originally it was called Caborn Summit. Price's Station was platted on August 11, 1881, by William Price. What importance it held was because of its location as a shipping point for grain and lumber. The postoffice was called Griffin. Calvin Station was surveyed by T. J. Johnson about 1881. Oliver in Center Township was laid out on August 1, 1834.[30]

There were two villages which never developed after having been platted. They were Greenville or Woodville laid out on November 5, 1819, by W. A. L. Green; and Chambille platted on December 22, 1836, by an agent of William Maclure.[31] Insufficient publicity may have been the reason for their failure to expand.

A number of settlements were never formally laid out. Among these are Black Hawk Mills, Bufkin, Hovey, Parker's Settlement in Robinson Township, Savah, Solitude, Zoar, and Upton —named in honor of a man who was living in the vicinity of the station. Two other villages, Saint Philip and Saint Wendel, were settled almost entirely by German Catholics. The latter was named for Wendel Wasem, who contributed liberally to the building of a large Catholic church.[32] Another community, known as Lippe or Tersteegen, was settled by a small colony of German Protestants. Most of these communities had a merchandise store and blacksmith shop in the early days. With the use of modern farming equipment throughout Posey County, the business of the blacksmith has declined considerably.

Since the Indians roamed over this southwestern section of Indiana Territory before the white man invaded their hunting grounds, three of their villages should be noted. Bone Bank, which was two and a half miles north of the confluence of the Wabash and Ohio rivers, has frequently been mentioned in print. The German prince, Maximilian, related that approximately fifteen miles south from Harmony on the Wabash was part of a

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[30] Deed Record H, Posey County, Indiana, 213-14; 167-68; *ibid.*, I, 110-11; *ibid.*, K, 208-9; *ibid.*, S, 68-69, 414; *ibid.*, X, 379; *ibid.*, 10, pp. 374-75; *ibid.*, 20, pp. 47, 58-59; *ibid.*, 31, pp. 143-44; Leffel, *History of Posey County*, 360.

[31] Goodspeed, *History of Posey County*, 415.

[32] Leffel, *History of Posey County*, 119, 120.

bank known as Bone Bank where the river had partly cut through a hill and human bones were imbedded in the bank. Nothing remains of this site because the current of the river has carried away the last vestige. Another Indian settlement was known as Murphy Site. It was located on the Murphy farm about a half mile north of the Ohio River and two miles east of the Wabash. The third village was south of Mount Vernon and east of the Ohio River and has been designated as the Mann Site.[33]

Such is the brief account of the settlements and villages in Posey County. A somewhat more detailed story of the nativity of those who constituted this county's population is worthy of consideration. In view of the fact that before 1850 no record was made in the census of the place of birth, it is somewhat difficult to obtain an exact report of the nativity of many who settled in Posey County prior to 1850. For data here submitted, every name which appeared in the 1820, 1830, and 1840 census as well as of every settler before 1841 mentioned in the county histories was recorded and then checked against the 1850 census. Such exceptions as may be advanced against this method will not materially or substantially change conclusions reached. In 1820 the total population for the county was 4,061 and most of the inhabitants were southerners, particularly North Carolinians. Ten years later there were 6,549 persons, with southerners in the majority and Tarheelans again the dominant group. At this time Kentuckians were also well represented. There was, too, a considerable increase in immigrants from Pennsylvania. By 1840 the total population had increased to 9,683. Although southerners outnumbered all other sections, the Kentuckians now had a larger representation than the North Carolinians. There was also an increase in the population from foreign countries, especially Germans; Middle Atlantic States, particularly Pennsylvanians; and New England States.[34] The majority of the early settlers were southerners, and many of them had migrated from North Carolina.

An analysis of the population in 1850 revealed that there were 12,548 inhabitants in the county representing twenty-nine

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[33] William R. Adams, *Archaeological Notes on Posey County, Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1949), 18-66; *Reise in das innere Nord-America*, I, 184-85

[34] *Eleventh United States Census, 1890 Population*, I, 18.

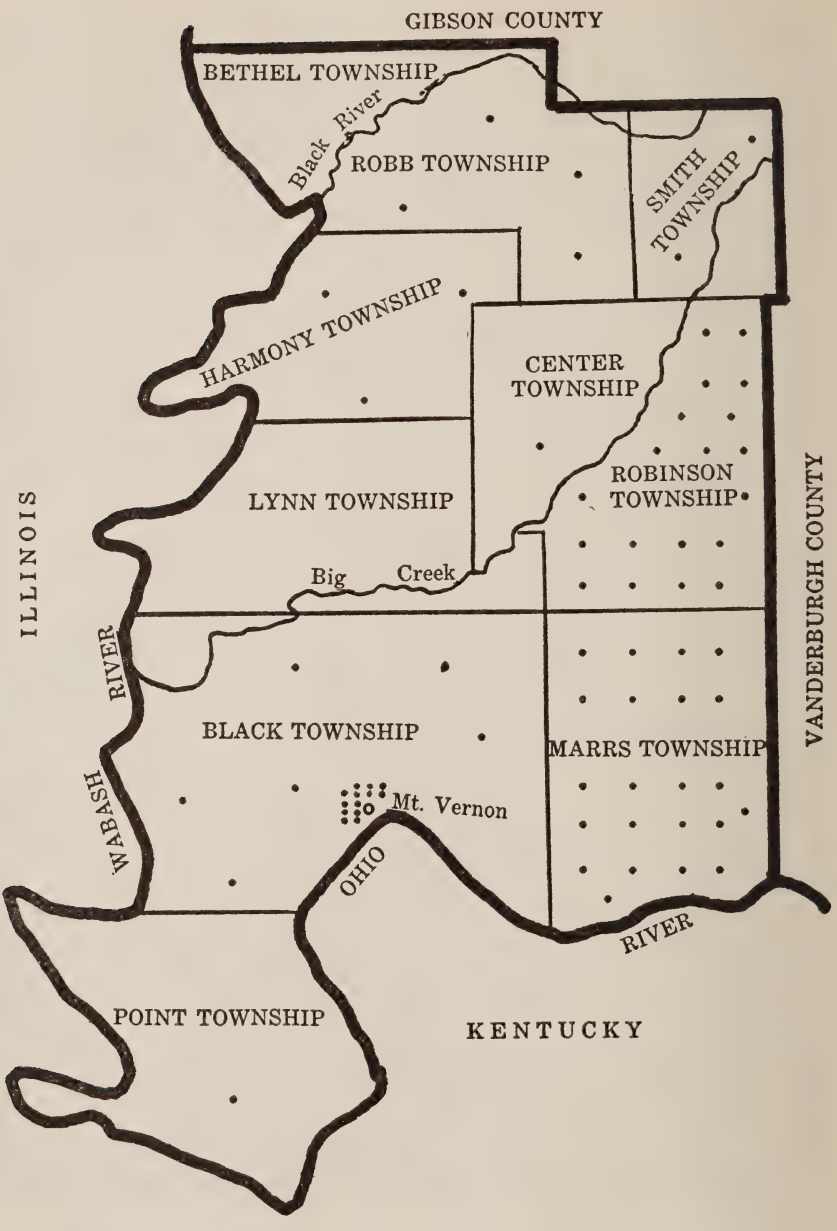
states and nine foreign countries.[35] Hoosiers surpassed all other sections combined with a total of 7,523, but seventy-seven per cent of this number were below twenty years of age. In all probability they were the children of men and women who had migrated to Posey County from other sections and foreign countries. On the other hand, 2,392 of the inhabitants were southerners and eighty-five per cent were above the age of twenty. From the South there were 1,014 Kentuckians, 522 North Carolinians, 366 Tennesseans, and 239 Virginians. The next largest group was composed of foreigners, contributing 1,239 to the total population with seventy-six per cent above twenty years of age. Of this number 184 were Englishmen and 912 Germans. The latter had chosen Marrs and Robinson townships. Ninety-three per cent of the population in Marrs Township were Germans. In Robinson Township slightly more than ninety-eight per cent of the inhabitants were Germans. Less than five hundred came from the Middle Atlantic States, but seventy-four per cent were over twenty years old. The largest number, 253, were natives of Pennsylvania, and 148 had been born in New York. New Englanders were represented by only 121 with approximately ninety-two per cent above the age of twenty. Thirty-eight were from Connecticut, seventeen from Maine, thirty-two from Massachusetts, and twenty-one from Vermont.

In the next decade the population of Posey County had increased to 16,126.[36] By this time the number of inhabitants born in Indiana had increased to 10,413. There were also more natives from Illinois and Ohio. The number from New England, the South, and Middle Atlantic States had declined, while foreigners had almost doubled in number. By this time the Germans, who more than doubled their number, had in addition to Marrs and Robinson townships now also settled extensively in Mount Vernon. Over seventy-seven per cent of their number were above the age of twenty. Seventy-two per cent of the Hoosiers, however, were below twenty years of age. Nevertheless, ninety-four per cent of the natives from New England were above the age of twenty. The same is true for the eighty-three per cent, from

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[35] Original Returns of the Seventh United States Census, 1850, Posey County, Indiana.

[36] Original Returns of the Eighth United States Census, 1860, Posey County, Indiana.



Map of Posey County In 1860

• Represents 25 Germans

the Middle Atlantic States, and more than seventy-seven per cent from the South.

This high percentage of inhabitants above the age of twenty from the various sections of the United States and foreign countries is significant. A prominent German statistician, Ernst Engel, has divided the economic life into three divisions, two of which are unproductive and one productive. The first or juvenile period continues until the fifteenth year and includes the rearing and educating of an individual. This is not only an unproductive time, but also the cause of considerable outlay of money. The second or labor period, ranging from fifteen to sixty-five, as Engel points out, was the productive time of life. The third or aged period he referred to as an unproductive time when the individual was dependent upon his savings or upon the labor of others.[37] The large percentage of Hoosiers below twenty years of age, therefore, falls within the unproductive period which also requires an outlay of money for the parents. On the other hand, the majority of the remaining native-born and foreign-born population were above the age of twenty and in the productive or labor period. Consequently, they were in a position to make a greater contribution toward such progress as was made.

Oddly enough, there were more Germans (1,878) in Posey County in 1860 than southerners, who numbered 1,855 in that year. Yet, the United States census reports indicate that beginning with 1870, the German population in Posey County began to decline.

Because of the relatively large number of Germans in Mount Vernon, an effort was made to maintain their language and specific interests. To meet these ends the German Aid Society was organized on November 17, 1857. A special meeting of this association could be called only upon the written application of seven members. Moreover, the treasurer was ordered to file a two-hundred-dollar bond with the president and two members, required as security for the faithful performance of his duties. In order to become a member of the organization a man had to be of good moral character; have sufficient means to support himself; be a citizen of the United States, or have at least

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[37] Friedrich Kapp, *Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York* (New York, 1870), 144.

declared his intentions of becoming one; and be twenty-one years of age, but not over fifty years old. Upon application for membership, if the person was below the age of forty, he was expected to pay two dollars and if beyond forty, four dollars. Each member was then assessed twenty-five cents for monthly dues. At no time was the amount in the treasury to exceed one hundred dollars. Any sum beyond that figure was to be loaned out at interest with good security. In the case of a death among the membership, the treasurer was authorized to contribute fifteen dollars toward funeral expenses. If a man had been a member for six months and then became ill and was unable to support himself, he received three dollars a week provided his ailment did not originate from immoral conduct. Should the membership ever be less than six, the association was to be disbanded and the funds invested for the aid of an independent German school. At the time of the first meeting there were fifty-nine members. In 1907 when the society celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, there were one hundred and twenty members. On May 16, 1942, the building which the organization owned was sold to George McFaddin, and on May 21 of that year the so-called German Aid Society met its demise, although there were still sixteen men on its membership roll.[38]

While the German Aid Society performed a useful service for many men, the press in its publication of the Mount Vernon *Wochenblatt* reached a much larger population. It was issued from October 23, 1875, to October 14, 1881. Another German newspaper, the Mount Vernon *Rundschau,* made its appearance on the streets of the town on May 25, 1895.[39] German musical organizations were also active in this southern Indiana village.

Since the Germans made an indelible impression on Posey County, it should be of interest to know from what provinces of the *Vaterland* they had departed. Although many regions were represented, the largest percentage came from Baden, Bavaria, Hamburg, Hanover, Hessen-Darmstadt, Westphalia, and Württemberg. Among the ports which they used for their entrance into the United States were Boston, New York, Phil-

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[38] Minutes of the German Aid Society are in the Alexandrian Free Public Library, Mount Vernon, Indiana.

[39] There is a file of the *Wochenblatt* in the Alexandrian Free Public Library. *Western Star,* May 30, 1895.

adelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans. While some came directly from the port of debarkation, others settled for a number of years in one of the states east or south of Indiana.

One family from Baden lived approximately ten years in Massachusetts before migrating to Mount Vernon. Another family from Hessen-Darmstadt remained in Louisiana ten years before settling in Black Township. One shoemaker and his family from Baden spent several years in New York before taking up their permanent residence in Mount Vernon. While a cooper by trade came directly to Indiana, he moved to Kentucky two years later and after several years among the Kentuckians he returned to Mount Vernon. A Hanoverian and his family lived in Ohio a number of years before removing to Mount Vernon. In the case of another family the father was born in Hanover, the mother in Bavaria, the first child in Missouri, and the second in Indiana. A family from Hessen-Darmstadt sojourned in Pennsylvania before removing to Mount Vernon.[40] From the records, it is apparent that the German names must have given the census taker, Elijah A. Spencer of New England ancestry, a great deal of trouble.

Because various regions of the fatherland were represented in Posey County, some differences should be noted. The north German had no love for the south German because he looked upon the latter as weak, while the South regarded the North as a little barbarous. Such advances as were made toward popular liberty had their origin in the South. Another outstanding distinction between the north German and the south German was in his character. Germans were *gemütlich* or they were not *gemütlich.* It would be impossible to imagine a north German as *gemütlich,* and it would be just as impossible to imagine a south German to be otherwise. In the South there was more of the Erasmusian humanity and less of the Bismarckian discipline. The dialect of an individual also indicated the section of Germany which had been his native habitat. The homely Platt dialects of the North were similar to the language of the Netherlands; however, they were beyond the point of comprehension to the Bavarian and Swabian peasants, whose vernacular differed only slightly from that of the Austrian and the Switzer. Many a Westphalian,

[40] Original Returns of the Eighth United States Census, 1860.

Hanoverian, or Hamburgian may cling to his harsh *stock* and *stein,* while other Germans adopted the softer *sch* pronunciation. The passion of northern Germany for strict rules, prompt and unquestioning obedience, as well as the parade of uniforms has always been in conflict with the great inclination of central and southern Germany toward democracy and liberty.[41] As the people in their homeland displayed these varied characteristics, one may assume that the earliest settlers to Posey County brought with them to an alien land all these traits, both good and bad.

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[41] William H. Dawson, *What Is Wrong with Germany* (New York, 1915), 195-96; William H. Dawson, *The Evolution of Modern Germany* (London, 1908), 21-22; Hamburg-Amerika Linie, *Guide through Europe* (Berlin, 1912), 40; Samuel van Valkenburg and Ellsworth Huntington, *Europe* (New York, 1935), 468.

III

The Evangelical Synod of North America

As Germans began to emigrate from their native land to settle in the Middle West, it was soon discovered that some areas were without clergyman and teacher. To bridge this gap, highly trained men within the new settlements were frequently called upon to fill such positions as arose for the intelligentsia on the American frontier. Among these was Hermann Garlichs, born in Bremen on January 31, 1807. His father, Gerhard, was a wealthy merchant, a very religious man, well versed in the classics, an art connoisseur and owner of the finest art collection in Bremen. Hermann had received an excellent education at the universities of Goettingen, Leipzig, Bonn, and Muenchen with the emphasis on philological studies. He played the violin very well, had some knowledge of medicine, and was able to converse in seven languages. His physical appearance has been described as tall and slender, neither unusually robust nor frail. After the completion of his university training, he had served as private tutor in several wealthy families. So far as he was concerned, this was only a temporary post until a teaching position in a university should be available. Meanwhile, he had read the glowing reports of life in America by Gottfried Duden, and like many of his friends and acquaintances had been seized by the general restlessness to embark for the United States. Accordingly, on April 5, 1833, he sailed from Bremen on the "Phoenix" and arrived in Baltimore on May 19. From there he continued the journey over land on foot to Wheeling. Here he took passage on a steamboat, and the remainder of the trip to St. Louis he made on water.

On August 5, 1834, Garlichs purchased for three hundred and fifty dollars a small tract of land with a log cabin on the Femme Osage Creek, six miles from Duden's farm. As a farmer he was a failure and seriously considered returning to Germany. Since a large number of Westphalians had settled in the same area and others in the neighborhood of St. Charles, a distance of thirty miles, and there was no German minister or teacher in the region, they persuaded him to undertake these duties. He

regarded this as a real opportunity to serve his countrymen. Many of the pioneers had been regular attendants at services in the fatherland, and now the only reminder of this religious experience on the frontier was their Bible, Stark's prayer book, and their hymnal which they had brought along to America. Conscientiously, Garlichs entered upon his new work and at times rode forty miles on horseback to comfort the sick and dying. There were no roads through the dense forests and the climate was very trying. Many settlers suffered from ague, and this also attacked Garlichs. A change of scenery, therefore, was recommended and in the fall of 1835 the young missionary returned to his native land. While in Germany, he passed his theological examinations in Bielefeld and was ordained a minister of the gospel. Before returning to America he was married to Adelheid von Borries on September 10, 1835.

Soon preparations were made for the journey back to Missouri. Hence, on November 2, 1835, the young bridal couple sailed from Bremen on the "Weser." Garlichs spent much time reading classical works, such as Goethe and Schiller, sermons, poetry, and a portion of each day he devoted to the study of English. On December 27, they arrived at New Orleans and in January, 1836, in the midst of a severe winter, moved into the log house on Garlichs' farm, where on some days it was impossible to raise the temperature beyond the zero point. Their first letter to Germany could not be completed because the snowflakes fell through the roof onto the paper. Yet, this was the first German Evangelical parsonage in the United States.

In the summer of 1837, Garlichs purchased a home five miles from his old log house and settled in the heart of the German community on Femme Osage Creek. Here a small log hut had been erected to serve as both church and school. This was the first German Evangelical church building in the United States, and also the first parochial school of this denomination. Garlichs founded and served a number of churches in his neighborhood. Since there were very few spiritual counsellors on the frontier, an urgent plea was sent by Germans living in Illinois and other pioneer settlements to the Missionary Society in Basel, where young men were being trained to enter foreign fields. In November, 1836, this society sent George W. Wall and Joseph A.

Rieger to Missouri. The preceding year John J. Riess had settled in St. Clair County, Illinois, and late in 1836, Philipp J. Heyer and Tilman Nies were sent by the Rhenish Missionary Society to take care of the spiritual needs of the Indians in the Far West. Because of the winter weather their journey was delayed and Nies soon died of exposure and Heyer was given permission to work among the Germans near St. Louis. The Missionary Board at Barmen in 1837 directed Louis E. Nollau to go to America. He made his home in the New World among the Germans at Gravois Settlement, near St. Louis. Karl L. Daubert came to Quincy, Illinois, in 1840. In 1834, John Gerber came to Ohio and later joined the German settlers near St. Louis.

Notwithstanding the fact that the German pioneers on the American frontier had indicated the importance of spiritual counsellors, the need was also apparent in the homeland. In 1837, therefore, "The Evangelical Society for the Protestant Germans in North America" was organized in Barmen.[1] This is an indication that the countrymen in the fatherland were interested in the welfare of those who migrated to the American wilderness.

The few clergymen who had come to the wilderness in Missouri desired closer contacts with one another. Accordingly, on September 28, 1840, Louis E. Nollau sent a letter to all German Evangelical ministers who were known to work in the West, inviting them to a meeting on October 14, at Gravois Settlement. The dispatch stated that the German brethren who were in charge of United Evangelical congregations felt the need of "brotherly fellowship," which had "become stronger on account of the English Lutheran Synods, and for those living in the neighborhood of St. Louis, of the Ultra-Lutherans." Nollau declared that the meeting was not to be a gathering of a "synod" but for the time it should "simply afford an opportunity to become mutually acquainted."[2]

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[1] Albert Muecke, *Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Synode von Nord-Amerika* (St. Louis, 1915), 52-55; William G. Bek, "The Followers of Duden," *Missouri Historical Review*, XVIII (1923-1924), 36-46; Henry Bode, "The Evangelical Church in the Making," *Evangelical Tidings*, I (1915), No. 42.

[2] Bode, "The Evangelical Church in the Making," *Evangelical Tidings*, I, No. 43; Carl E. Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier* (St. Louis, 1939), 106-7. The original German letter has disappeared.

It has not been revealed how many clergymen were invited. Among the five who responded were Hermann Garlichs of Femme Osage, Philipp Heyer of St. Charles and George Wall of St. Louis, Missouri; Karl Daubert of Quincy and John Riess of Centerville, Illinois. John Gerber acknowledged the invitation but requested to be excused "on account of business." At the time of the meeting, Joseph Rieger was returning from Germany with his bride, and he was delayed in Ohio. Both of these men, however, signed the minutes the following year.

Although the gathering had been called for the fourteenth, deliberations were postponed until the morning of the fifteenth. Thus in 1840 in a log-cabin parsonage at Gravois Settlement, a simple pastoral conference laid the foundation of the German Evangelical Synod of North America. The first session began with prayer and the singing of a hymn. Daubert was elected president *pro tem.*; and Nollau, as secretary *pro tem.* Twenty-four resolutions were adopted, covering many subjects. The consensus of opinion among those present was against the organization of a synod at that time. A lengthy discussion, however, resulted in the suggestion that the group should constitute themselves as *Der Deutsche Evangelische Kirchenverein des Westens.* An effort was made "to avoid a rigid institutional organization and to eliminate the bureaucratic features traditionally associated with synodical bodies."

Membership in the association was to consist of ordained clergymen, lay delegates, and advisory members. Immediately following the stipulation that only ordained pastors would be entitled to full membership, a provision was added that congregations should select delegates who would be entitled to a seat and vote in the sessions. If a minister supplied more than one congregation, these congregations had to agree on one delegate to represent all of them. This resolution may have been adopted to establish automatically the parity of clergy and laity. Theological candidates who sought admission to the society might be admitted as advisory members after a careful examination of their character had been made. Ordinations were to take place at the time of a regular meeting of the association. In urgent cases the examining committee with the consent of those present was empowered to administer an ordination during the interim.

On the other hand, ordained pastors might be admitted on probation during the interim, but this action would need to be confirmed at the next regular meeting of the conference. Every effort was made to protect the high moral, intellectual, and spiritual standards of the ministry. Because of such conditions as existed on the frontier, it became necessary to raise barriers against questionable characters. In order that there might be no doubt about the term "Evangelical," it was unanimously voted that they "confess belief in the symbolic writings of our Evangelical mother church in Germany."

The association was also to foster schools and encourage education. In this fashion the educational needs of the German frontier settlements could be met. Their chief promoter for such projects, no doubt, was Garlichs, a trained pedagogue. "To meet the needs of our youth," a committee was appointed to "provide a suitable Evangelical Catechism." Thus religious education was one of the chief concerns of the *Kirchenverein.* Furthermore, it was to co-operate whole-heartedly "with such benevolent societies as were laboring for the advancement of the Kingdom of God."

Some discussion was also devoted to the subject of vestments. It was not made obligatory to wear a specified garb while conducting public services, but it was recommended that members of the association when performing official duties should appear in the vestments customarily used in the "Evangelical mother church." Since "the ideals of the Middle West began in the log huts set in the midst of the forest," and "the vastness of the wilderness kindled" the pioneer's imagination,[3] it was impossible to transplant some European customs on the American frontier. Therefore, when the matter of the form of worship came up for consideration radical changes had to be made from those used in the homeland. A committee was appointed to prepare a book of worship and submit the prospectus for adoption at the next meeting of the society.

Another procedure which tended toward a permanent organization was the election of three officers—president, secretary, and treasurer. The duties of these men were those customarily expected of persons in such positions. It was also agreed that

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[3] Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 153.

no man was to hold the same office two years in succession. At the election which ensued Karl L. Daubert became president; Louis E. Nollau, secretary; and John J. Riess, treasurer. Upon these three, therfore, was placed the responsibility of nurturing the infant association.

Moreover, at the first gathering these pioneers saw the need for the preservation of records pertaining to individual pastors and congregations because all clergymen were instructed to present a résumé of their work at each conference. A special request was made for a statistical report to be filed with the secretary. This was an admirable beginning and has been adhered to by most of the ministers and congregations.

With respect to amendments, it was voted that only a two-thirds vote could change fundamental articles which pertained to the creed. So as not to appear dictatorial, a provision was inserted not to interfere with the affairs of individual congregations. It was permissible, however, to give assistance to a church if it requested help.

In the hope that their day's work might produce results, the secretary was instructed to submit a copy of the proceedings to other clergymen who might be induced to join the society. He was also requested to invite ministers who were interested in the association to the next meeting to be held in St. Charles the following year. The last article directed the secretary to prepare a comprehensible version of the resolutions and submit them at the next meeting for the signature of each member.

This mixture of formal, constitutional clauses and routine business served as a guide for the development of a simple pastoral gathering into a denomination which made its imprint on the nation at large. Upon the completion of the meeting, Crecelius, a young farmer, appeared with his crude conveyance to take these pioneer ministers bouncing over a wilderness road to St. Louis.[4] In all probability the journey back home did not appear too tiresome, for so much had been accomplished.

The following spring the conference convened at St. Charles

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[4] Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier*, 107-12; Bek, "The Followers of Duden," *Missouri Historical Review*, XVIII, 47-50. The minutes of *Der Deutsche Evangelische Kirchenverein des Westens* from 1840 to 1866 are in the Historical Archives, Eden Theological Seminary, Webster Groves, Missouri.

with only four of the original group present. This meeting was the formal constitutional assembly of the *Kirchenverein.* Riess had gone to Germany for a wife, and Nollau also returned to the fatherland for a visit before taking up his duties as a missionary in Africa for the Barmen Society. The fastidious Nollau had revised the twenty-four resolutions of 1840 and omitted those which were purely of a business nature, reducing the number to sixteen. An additional article was added at this conference "which prohibited a member of the Society from performing ministerial duties in the congregation of any other member without his specific permission." Several other changes were also made. One was of particular interest because it stipulated that if at a conference the number of lay delegates was not equal to that of the clergy, parity should be established by drafting the necessary number from the host congregation.

Moreover, it was agreed that in the future candidates were not to be ordained in the interim between conferences. If the candidate had successfully passed his examination, he would be granted the privilege of preaching and administering the sacraments until the time of the next conference. According to Carl E. Schneider, "The most significant change, however, involved the doctrinal paragraph, where subscription to the symbolic books was made secondary to acknowledgement of the Old and New Testaments as the sole criterion of faith in the exposition of which the consensus of the symbolic books of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches was to be the norm." Eight charter members signed the minutes of 1840 and the constitution was formally accepted. A copy of the document was then dispatched for publication in the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* and the *Christliche Zeitschrift,* a Reformed periodical issued at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.[5] Apparently the members of the *Kirchenverein* were now anxious to have their brethren in other regions learn of their formal organization.

Nevertheless, "to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect

[5] Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier,* 112-13.

great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier."[6] Thus new interpretations constantly arose on this unrestricted expanse and an independent German church emerged. Yet, when its faint voice floated through the wilderness, a cloud of opposition darkened the horizon and an attempt was made to thwart its development.

The rationalists of the Middle West objected to the *Kirchenverein* because they feared it might threaten the very principles for which they had fought in the fatherland and had sought in America. They were particulary irritated because such an organization had taken root in their own soil, especially since they had prevented Pennsylvania synods from entering their region. In order that they might win support, it was deemed advisable to invite argument through letters printed in the *Anzeiger des Westens* published in St. Louis. The first of these appeared on May 26, 1841, signed by *Ein Unparteiischer*. Another one was issued by *Volksstimme* on June 2, 1841. Finally, Garlichs sent a reply which was published in the *Anzeiger* on June 16, 1841. At that time he remarked it was impossible for him to publicly defend the *Kirchenverein* because those who had attacked the new society pursued such a course not because of an interest in the organization but because of personal animosity. Then, too, he declared that the language used in the articles was of such a nature that it did not solicit an answer. With respect to the sincerity of the motives, he suggested that since he was a partisan himself a better way might be found to convince those who had done the attacking than through him. If, however, a public explanation was desired, he said it would be necessary for the opposition to abandon the cloak of anonymity and choose a nonpartisan paper and avoid having his statements embellished with gratuitous marginal annotations. He extended an invitation to *Ein Unparteiischer* for a discussion of the matter either in private or by letter.

A number of other anonymous writers also came into the foreground. One of these identified himself as "X" and may

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[6] Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 37.

have been a Latin farmer from the Femme Osage district. He referred to the founders as *Synodalherren* and the second meeting which was held in the home of Heyer as a secret conclave where "the priestly conspiracy of St. Charles" had decided the best way to serve the "mother synod of Pennsylvania" was to organize the "daughter synod of St. Charles." They followed this procedure, he stated, because of the opposition of the German farmers and the tense feeling which was so pronounced throughout the region against the organization of local churches under synods. The main objection to a synod was the fear that the various congregations would lose their self-governing rights and be mere underlings for a dictatorial synod. He called upon Garlichs to reveal the "sacred mysteries of the synods," and if he failed to comply, "X" declared it would be possible to procure a copy of the fourteen articles for publication from a resident of Femme Osage. These threats, however, did not excite the members of the *Kirchenverein* to relinquish their "conspiracy of silence."

Six month later another article appeared by *Photophilos.* The tone and the manner in which this narrative was written revealed its author to the intelligent reader. Friedrich Münch, who served a rationalistic church at Dutzow, only a short distance from Femme Osage, furnished the ammunition for the December 15 issue of the *Anzeiger.* The minutes of the May meeting as well as eleven of the seventeen articles were published. A feeble attempt was made to analyze these resolutions. In addition, the names of the synodical lords with their addresses were included.[7] *Photophilos* concluded by remarking that if the lords were really interested in effecting an understanding, he would be very happy to continue the discussion and further defend his arguments.

In the next issue of the *Anzeiger,* Heinrich Koch, a watchmaker and opponent to the clergy, made his contribution and introduced his remarks with the statement that he gladly and earnestly wished to enter the controversy in order to effectively slap the black-cowled gentlemen on the fingers every time they

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[7] The seven synodical lords were Philipp J. Heyer, St. Charles, Missouri; Karl L. Daubert, Quincy, Illinois; Hermann Garlichs, Femme Osage, Missouri; John Gerber, St. Louis County, Missouri; George W. Wall, St. Louis, Missouri; John Riess, Belleville, Illinois; Joseph Rieger, Highland, Illinois.

reached toward a forbidden fruit and to contest every step they took on the field of arrogance so lucrative for priests. Furthermore, he wanted to examine more closely the seventeen beautiful synodical eggs laid by the seven intelligent black hens.

The dispute had now gone beyond the boundaries of Missouri, and Francis A. Hoffmann, a Westphalian, from Du Page County, Illinois, who was not a member of the *Kirchenverein,* but was personally acquainted with some of its members, wrote a reply to *Photophilos.* Preceding his message was a statement that the Western Synod did not pick up the gauntlet which *Photophilos* had thrown before her some time ago. Hoffmann endorsed the use of the symbolical books and defended the Bible. The very fact, he declared, that the *Kirchenverein* promoted religious education was sufficient proof to justify its existence.

In March, Münch replied and very ably demonstrated his theological superiority. Yet, the *Verein* remained silent. Articles by the opposition continued to appear. Several were published during this month from the pen of *Christenthums.* In the first of these he referred to the meeting at St. Charles where seven men who called themselves ministers in Evangelical congregations in the western part of the United States assembled and founded an association under the name of *Deutsch-Evangelischer Kirchenverein des Westens.* Various articles of the society's constituton were criticized. He continued by acclaiming Hoffmann as the lawyer for the organization, since it was now in need of a defender. That Hoffmann was a man of ability cannot be denied, for in 1860 he was elected lieutenant-governor of Illinois for a four-year term. This Westphalian also possessed some talent for writing and under the pen name of Hans Buschbauer wrote articles for agricultural magazines. A second letter also in March was addressed to the Germans in the western part of North America, particularly in the state of Missouri. It objected to priestly tyranny and accused the society of the desire to develop a rich sacerdotal obscurity. Moreover, it attributed the silence of the *Verein* to its unsuccessful attempt to draw a thread from the large Pennsylvania Synod distaff to the West.

After five weeks had elapsed, *Christenthums* wrote again and was somewhat exasperated because his two previous messages were not answered. He, therefore, came to the conclusion

that the *Verein* had met its demise. Yet, in the case of a death, someone would need to deliver a funeral oration. This, however, he remarked, was a difficult task to fulfill since virtually nothing was known about its past.

Nevertheless, the *Kirchenverein* remained calm. Four months later messages of indignation came fast and furiously. *Euer Landsmann* sarcastically admitted that the funeral rites had been performed too hastily because the seven ecclesiastical knights in an open meeting at Femme Osage had ordained another man to join their ranks. He then remarked that now it was necessary to cope with an "eight-headed synodical monster." In his estimation the only way to coerce the members of the association to yield would be to subjugate them to the *Hungerkur.*

Just at the time when the foundation of the opposition was beginning to disintegrate, Garlichs' church at Femme Osage came to his rescue and declared that former accusations had been false. The defense carried the caption *Eine wahre Volksstimme,* and it was signed by the *Kirchen-Vorstand und die Anwesenden Gemeinde-Mitglieder.*

Four months elapsed before the opponents made a weak reply. Münch then claimed that the "Evangelical mystics of the West," were trying to defend themselves on the basis of a statement which the Femme Osage church had made. Likewise, he questioned the character of F. Knigge, a Methodist, because the latter commended the pietism of Garlichs and denounced Münch as a *Vernunftprediger.*

The battlefield now shifted to St. Charles, Missouri, with Philipp Heyer in the center and the enemies of the *Verein* all aiming at him. On August 6, 1842, the public was amazed when the *Anzeiger* carried an advertisement stating that the St. Charles church desired a minister who had not been ordained by an American Synod, who did not hold membership in a Synod, and who was not planning to join one. It stipulated that the man had to be well educated, of good moral character and willing to preach the Word of God "free from superstition and priestly cunning."

Yet, the devastating attacks did not begin until January, 1843, when a spectator accused Heyer of being one of the missionaries

sent to America by the "notorious priest factory at Basel." Among other assertions which followed were: that he had been responsible for the founding of the *Kirchenverein,* had induced Garlichs and his congregation to become members of the society, and that he might be dubbed the cornerstone of the synod. Probably the most damaging statement accused him of deceiving a simple-minded deaf and dumb girl of his congregation and thereby arousing the anger of every noble German to defend himself against the immoral "pietistic rabble of the new German missionary factories and Eastern synods." Moreover, the ire of individuals in religion and ecclesiastical circles reached the climax of intensity when Heyer instigated a libel suit against the *Anzeiger* and the *Antipfaff,* periodicals published in St. Louis. Even though Heyer was the weakest spoke in the wheel of the *Verein,* clergymen of other denominations came to his defense against the rationalistic press. The journalists, however, took advantage of every opportunity. Hence, the *Anzeiger* published a letter which had been written on April 18, 1843, by "X" which referred to Heyer as a *Synodalspinne.*

Heyer assumed the leading role of actor and the courtroom served as the stage. In the audience was the "scandal-loving public of St. Louis and vicinity" who applauded loudly. Among the supporting cast were the intelligentsia who made their entrances and exits with such rapidity that the focal point of attention was never lost sight of. Although the main accusation against the principal character was personal immorality, other indictments were injected. The act of the drama which introduced the issue of rationalism climaxed the performance and the gifted orators even displayed hidden talents. Among these was Henry S. Geyer, a devout Episcopalian and German lawyer. As the chief counsel for the leading actor, he delivered the most eloquent speech heard in the courtroom in defense of his client against rationalism. Even this superb action and forty years' experience with the St. Louis bar failed to bring success to Heyer.

The *Anzeiger* now declared that Heyer had not only lost the case, but had been humiliated. When he returned to St. Charles, he discovered the church had split into two factions. He was forbidden to use the church, and when he insisted on preaching,

force was used to oust him. Thereupon he sued for damages in the amount of three thousand dollars. The case, however, never came up for trial.

A third center of controversy was St. Louis, where the *Anzeiger* was the principal supporter of rationalism. Wall, the main spokesman for the *Kirchenverein,* did not beat around the bush. Shortly after he returned from the gathering of the seven synodical lords in St. Charles in 1841, he suggested to the congregation that they retain the original name "German Protestant Evangelical" instead of "German Protestant." Interestingly enough, at no time did he mention the *Kirchenverein,* but did place the emphasis on "Evangelical," which made some of the members suspicious. Consequently, the congregation was divided into two factions. Each group now had a chance to voice opinions and also dispose of surplus energy. During the next two weeks, the liberal group became fearful that their foundation was not secure and hurriedly sought new members. Boisterous meetings took place, but they failed to gather enough sheep for their fold. Realizing they were in the minority, only one other path loomed up, which led to the *Anzeiger.* This publication was interested in attacks against Wall and the *Kirchenverein.* Through this medium Wall and the *Verein* received widespread publicity and the frontiersmen did not need to leave their cabin doors for spicy entertainment for that in abundance might be gathered from the pages of the *Anzeiger.*

The notorious and rationalist Heinrich Koch, established the *Antipfaff* in April of 1842. Since he possessed literary abilities, there was a desire on his part to use these talents to overcome "the efforts of the *Pfaffen* to force their priestly yoke" upon the people. As a member of the liberal group in Wall's church he was not in need of material for his publication. Because of the extreme views which he expressed in his periodical, it soon won "the reputation of being a rude and turbulent journal." Wilhelm Weber, the editor of the *Anzeiger,* requested Koch not to give vent to his feelings in the columns of his *Antipfaff* because it would only create ill will. Furthermore, he reprimanded the overbearing rationalist for the manner in which he criticized Wall and the St. Louis congregation. Weber in no uncertain terms declared that the attacks which Koch had published were

unfair and that the manner in which they were presented would never invite a profitable discussion of the matters. Such criticism from the liberal Weber, who had little love for the *Kirchenverein,* did not augur well for the *Antipfaff* or its editor. Nonchalantly, Koch remarked that the Pittsburgh *Courier* had expressed the hope that the rationalists throughout the country might read his publication and that he would reach a circulation of twenty thousand.

Although Koch may have voiced the opinions of those who held extreme views, he also irritated others who did not feel particularly kind toward the pietists. Letters were addressed to him from men in all walks of life. In order that the public from all sections of the country might benefit from some of the replies, he chose to use the columns of his journal for this purpose. One letter which was answered in this fashion had come from a Latin farmer. In the issue of August 4, 1842, he prefaced his answer as follows:

> Mein lieber Bauer, guck
> Was treibst du hier fuer Spuck,
> Von des Kollegen Gnick,
> Nimmst du den boesen Strick,
> Und steckst, O armer Tropf,
> Ihn selbst an deinen Kopf.

When it became necessary to employ a schoolteacher in the fall of 1842, the controversy in Wall's church again came into the foreground. For six years Karl Meier had filled the post, but since the pietistic faction objected to him, he was discharged. The attack against Wall now centered around irregularities in the school elections. Again the *Anzeiger* proved to be a most satisfactory way to express dissension. The congregation was referred to as the *"Baselschen"* church and sympathy was extended to Meier who had fallen prey to the *"Basler Totentanz."* Since Wall was writing a catechism at this time, he was requested to pay particular attention to three commandments which he had violated—Thou shall not steal, kill, nor bear false witness.

This constant turmoil affected Wall's health. Therefore, in 1843, when the rationalistic group came into power, and the pastor was deprived of so many privileges, he surrendered, his

resignation taking place on June 16. With loyal pietists, Wall organized the *Deutsche Evangelische Gemeinde* in St. Louis, Missouri. In later years this church served as an important cog in the gears which were never stripped while the *Kirchenverein* operated in the West. Oddly enough, the difficulties in Wall's church at St. Louis coincided with Heyer's trial in the same year. The former, a more talented man, was able to keep his head above water while the latter, the weakest of the founders, sank.

As has been pointed out, there were three centers where the rationalistic opposition attempted to undermine the *Kirchenverein.* There may have been other areas, but they failed to receive as much publicity and such friction as may have existed never germinated to produce any results. In addition, however, when the *Verein* was established, it had aroused the Lutheran synods at a time when they were undertaking an ambitious program to advance their cause on the American frontier in the West. To add insult to injury, Heyer and Garlichs, both members of the Lutheran synod at Indianapolis, requested honorable dismissal in 1841, and this was not granted.[8] With so much trouble, it stands to reason that the infant organization did not receive the support so essential for its development. The mainspring, however, maintained enough resiliency after each storm of opposition had subsided to insure the future of the immature association, because a group of loyal ministers quietly promoted the cause of the *Verein.*

In 1844 some of the charter members began to resign and since not enough new ministers had been admitted, the future of the society became dubious. At this juncture there came from the fatherland a few men who had either received ordination there or possessed the necessary qualifications to be ordained immediately upon their arrival in America. Among the first to whom the policy of immediate ordination applied were John Wettle, Heinrich Toelke, and Ludwig Austmann, all of whom served

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[8] *Anzeiger des Westens,* May 26, June 2, 16, 30, July 2, December 15, 22, 1841; January 26, March 5, 10, 12, April 23, 28, August 6, 20, 24, 1942; January 7, 21, April 20, May 25, 27, 28, 30, June 1, 3, 1843; Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier,* 113-32; J. H. A. Lacher, "Francis A. Hoffmann of Illinois and Hans Buschbauer of Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* XIII (June, 1930), 327-55.

congregations in southern Indiana. Wettle, a native of Guensbach, Alsace, was trained for the teaching profession in France. Upon the completion of his studies at Basel, he was ordained in 1844 by the *Gustav-Adolf-Verein,* which had been organized in 1832 to serve the unchurched Germans scattered throughout the world—Diaspora—and in 1840-1841 it was reactivated through efforts which had originated at Basel. In 1846, Wettle was sent to America and at the spring meeting of the *Kirchenverein* was ordained. During the latter part of the fifties he supplied a church at Saundersville, Vanderburgh County, Indiana.

Toelke from Lippe-Detmold was commissioned by the Langenberg Society. In 1843 he arrived in America, and for a year and a half guided the spiritual interests of Germans in New York City and Williamsburg, New York. When he arrived in the Middle West, he applied to the *Kirchenverein* for a license and in 1846 became a member of the association. He was the first pastor of Zion Evangelical Church in Evansville and also very active among the Germans in Knox County. He influenced hundreds of Westphalians to migrate to southern Indiana and was the key man for the *Verein* in this region.

The third pastor, Austmann, also from Lippe-Detmold, possessed only an elementary education but had achieved success in leading religious gatherings in Germany. Because the government frowned upon his activities, he left for America and in March, 1849, arrived at Tersteegen, now better known as Lippe, in Posey County, Indiana. He applied for ordination in June, 1849; but the request was not granted because an examination disclosed that he was unfamiliar with church history and was unable to give satisfactory explanations on some other matters. But the following year he was ordained.

In 1846 with the arrival of a number of pastors who had been ordained in Germany and could be accepted as full-fledged members without any reservations, there developed real hope for the *Kirchenverein.* Pietistic devotion and consecrated scholarship now cemented together a solid foundation upon which to build. Among the new arrivals were two men, Wilhelm F. Binner and Adolf H. F. Baltzer, who later played an important role in the *Verein.*

Binner was born in Silesia, the son of a Prussian official and a Polish countess. He was graduated from the University of Breslau, served an Evangelical church in Münsterberg, was *Direktor* of the Royal Normal College of Breslau in 1838, was inspector of schools, and chaplain at the fortress of Glatz. In 1845 he contacted the Bremen Society, which sent him with his wife and two children to America. He is probably better remembered as the first inspector and professor of the seminary.

Another man who accompanied Binner and became very prominent was Baltzer, a native of Berlin. He received his early religious instruction from Franz Theremin, court preacher and defender of the faith against rationalism of that day. At Berlin he studied at the feet of outstanding scholars and for one year attended the University of Halle. At the time he completed his formal education, there was an oversupply of theologians. Hence, he tutored for several years and then conferred with the Bremen Society, which directed him to America. After a brief visit in New York, Binner and Baltzer migrated to Illinois. Binner founded the church at Waterloo, and Baltzer took up his residence at Red Bud. The latter became the synodical president in 1866, and the same year removed to St. Charles, Missouri. In the spring of 1846 both of these men had been admitted to the *Verein.*

Another pastor who came to America during the forties and became a member of the *Verein* should be noted, since he was stationed at Evansville, Indiana. Christian Schrenk, a true son of Württembergian Pietism, renounced an inheritance in order to devote his life to the German Diaspora in Russia. At the age of eighteen he entered Basel and instead of being assigned to Russia upon the completion of his studies he was sent to America. In 1844, Schrenk was ordained in London and then embarked for New Orleans. After three years among the Germans in that city, he departed for Columbia, Illinois. During a short stay here in 1848, he joined the *Kirchenverein.* The following year Schrenk returned to the church in the South which he had previously supplied. At New Orleans he became acquainted with some German immigrants who removed to Indiana, and in 1852 they invited him to serve Zion Church in Evans-

ville.[9] These men represent differences in education and temperament, but all of them conscientiously served the *Kirchenverein.*

Thirty-one pastors affiliated with the *Kirchenverein* during the first decade. Of this number six withdrew, leaving a total of twenty-five at the end of the period.[10] A number of these early pastors received a stipend from the American Home Missionary Society. This society had been founded in 1826 and was "significant not only because it was the most important single home missionary agency among Protestants in the United States before the Civil War, but also because it represented an experiment in the co-operative conduct of missions by several religious groups."[11] The primary interest of these early ministers on the American frontier was to serve the German communities scattered throughout the Middle West.

At first the *Verein* was considered merely as an outpost for the Evangelical Church of Germany, and ministers for the American frontier would be supplied as the need arose. The association was interested in compiling a catechism to meet the need of religious education and in the adoption of a book of worship. As the population increased and the inhabitants were conditioned by typical frontier experiences, it became evident that the *Kirchenverein* should direct its efforts toward training men in an attempt to meet the spiritual needs current in America. Accordingly, in 1848 at the meeting of the association the first official step was taken: a committee was appointed to study the possibilities of establishing a seminary. During the next eight months considerable discussion ensued, and the idea was so well received that twelve sites were offered for the proposed seminary. Thus the *Verein* was convinced that it could launch a building program. The first fifteen acres were donated by Heinrich Nienkamp, better remembered as "Papa" Nienkamp. Other friends added forty-four acres. These fifty-nine acres of

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[9] Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier,* 133, 147-48 151-55, 161, 186-89; Muecke, *Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Synode von Nord-Amerika,* 204; American Home Missionary Society Papers for Indiana. These papers are in the Hammond Library, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois.

[10] For a roster of the *Kirchenverein* pastors see, Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier,* 480-92.

[11] Colin B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939), 173-79.

hills and valleys were located in Warren County, Missouri, fifty-four miles west of St. Louis and thirty-four miles west of St. Charles, and lying midway between the small villages of Marthasville and Femme Osage. The rocks, sand, and wooded hills on the land furnished much of the building material. Pastors and congregations worked hand in hand on a project which was now their chief concern. Momentum was given to this united effort through propaganda in the pages of the *Friedensbote,* established in January, 1850.

On July 4, 1849, people came from far and wide to witness the laying of the cornerstone. The building program could not move along fast enough to keep abreast of the excitement that had been created. By the spring of 1850, some were becoming disturbed at the progress made. To speed up the work, a few ministers and four theological protégés went to the seminary grounds to assist in the building, to plant gardens, to build stables, and to pray for the project. At the time of the conference in 1850, it was reported that the buildings were not completed and that it was impossible to begin class work. To remedy this situation "Papa" Nienkamp opened his home, which consisted of two houses of two rooms, and accommodated the seminary family of six students, one professor and his family, and the superintendent. It is questionable if scholarship made much progress in such crowded quarters.

Eventually on June 20, 1850, the 40′ x 50′ stone building with white and gray walls, whose thickness varied from eighteen inches for the second story to four feet for the foundation, had been completed. After the evening devotions had been conducted on that day each student picked up some article of furniture and all together marched through the starlit night to their new home singing, "Gehe mit mir aus und ein, Jesus Christus, meine Liebe." Before entering the new building they renewed the pledge of their calling and sang "Ich bin dein! Sprich du darauf dein Amen!"

Since the seminary had been built in an isolated district, its location caused many inconveniences which could be more readily endured during the summer than in the winter. By 1881, it was evident that the quarters were too small; therefore, serious consideration was given to the removal from the old site. Ministers

and congregations from St. Louis insisted that this city was the logical site for the new seminary. Their interest in the campaign was further demonstrated by the fact that they subscribed over eleven thousand dollars for the project which they stipulated would be cancelled if St. Louis were not chosen. After St. Louis was designated as the more desirable site for the new seminary another problem loomed in the foreground: namely, three locations within the city were suggested, "Schullande," "Rosedale Heights," and "Hamburger." By a secret ballot taken among the directors, "Hamburger" was chosen. It was bounded by rock roads on the east and south, was in the vicinity of two railroads, was near street cars, had a good water supply, and was on good land. There were objections to the legal charter name, Evangelical Missouri College; and since the seminary station on the Wabash Railroad was called Eden, visitors to the seminary bought tickets to "Eden" and the name stuck.

With the passing of the years, educational institutions develop beyond their quarters just as children outgrow their clothes. When it is no longer possible to let out seams, a new garment must be purchased. At the time an educational institution is confronted with the problem of necessary expansion, it must erect another building, if there is space, remodel, or search for a new location. In 1921, Eden Seminary faced such a question. The old site had lost its attractiveness and was now surrounded by numerous industrial enterprises. At the General Conference of that year, it was voted not to undertake the task of remodeling old buildings in a neighborhood which no longer seemed desirable. The seminary board was, therefore, instructed "to take the preliminary steps toward a change of location." A prospective buyer for the St. Charles Rock Road location appeared, and after prolonged negotiations, it was sold to the Normandy High School. Hence, on May 4, 1924, the cornerstone for new Eden was laid on a beautiful site in Webster Groves, a suburb of St. Louis, and on December 3 opened its school year.[12] Thus a dream of the pioneers of the *Kirchenverein* for a seminary had materialized and developed from one building to a beautiful campus with a number of buildings.

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[12] Carl E. Schneider, *History of the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Church* (n.p., n.d.).

While many of the denominations during the 1850's were moving westward, the *Kirchenverein* was expanding in the opposite direction. Because of this situation the *Verein* was greatly aided by the union with the German Evangelical Church Society of Ohio, in 1858, and the union, in 1860 with the United Evangelical Synod of the East, whose members were located in Ohio and New York. Although the *Verein* had been referred to as a synod for a number of years, it was not until after these developments occurred that the name "synod" was officially adopted. Thus in 1866, the name was changed to the German Evangelical Synod of the West, which was a step toward centralized organization. The relationship of this synod with the United Evangelical Protestant Synod of America became very pronounced in 1866, when the latter requested all of its congregations to use the catechism of the western society. This synod changed its name in 1867 to German United Evangelical Synod of the East. Eventually, the cordial relations between this synod and the German Evangelical Synod of the West, resulted in a union of the two in 1872.

After the Civil War, the Synod laid greater stress on home missions so as to serve the German settlements which developed. Moreover, since a part of the home mission program centered around religious education, parochial schools became very important. In order that the congregations might be able to employ competent teachers, a seminary for this purpose was established. Ernest Roos of Cincinnati added to his ministerial duties the supervision of the seminary.

On May 23, 1867, the seminary was opened at Cincinnati, Ohio, with twelve students. Jacob Hummel, the first teacher, had come to America in 1864 from Rheinpfalz. He had been trained in the teachers' seminary at Kaiserslautern, and was, therefore, well qualified for the new post which he filled until 1869. In that year Fr. Weygold, a Westphalian, replaced Hummel. Two years later the teachers' seminary was moved to Evansville, Indiana. At the time of this removal, it was also agreed that in addition to prospective teachers, pre-theological students should be enrolled. The stay in the Hoosier town was of short duration, since a merger with the Evangelical Synod of the Northwest was consummated in 1872. This synod had

been established in 1859 and catered to the Germans in Wisconsin and northern Illinois. A theological seminary, known as the Melanchthon Seminary, had been founded at Waukegan, Illinois. In 1869, it was removed to Elmhurst, Illinois, and two years later, on December 6, it was joined by the Evansville seminary. Particular emphasis was now placed on educating theological students, although teachers were still being trained. Because of this amalgamation, the proseminary idea had taken root. Later the name of this educational institution was changed to Elmhurst Academy and Junior College. After the addition of two more years of college the A.B. degree was awarded and the name changed to Elmhurst College.

Inasmuch as several mergers had taken place and among the membership were pastors and congregations outside the boundaries of the Middle West, the name of the church at large was changed to the German Evangelical Synod of North America.[13] The German spirit and language dominated for many years, but since during World War I many individuals of German extraction were persecuted, the rising generation indicated it would not adhere to the narrow conceptions which had been in vogue; therefore, in 1925 the word "German" was dropped. Nine years later steps were taken to unite with the Reformed Church in the United States and the Hungarian Reformed Church.

More recently, there has been a movement on foot for the Congregational Christian Churches to join the Evangelical and Reformed Church. In February, 1949, when fifteen hundred Congregational delegates and spectators assembled in the ballroom of the Public Auditorium at Cleveland for a two-day conference, on the agenda appeared the question of the merger. Since not all the representatives favored such a union, a heated discussion took place. The main spokesman for the opposition was James W. Fifield, Jr., pastor of the First Congregational Church at Los Angeles. He emphatically declared that "We think Congregationalism has a unique genius to contribute to the cause of freedom in the U. S. The merger will destroy that—the autonomous, free, local church in contrast to the capital-C church on the national level."

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[13] Schneider, *German Church on the American Frontier*, 287, 387-92; Muecke, *Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Synode von Nord-Amerika*, 151-94, 215.

In reply to these statements Ronald Bridges, President of the Pacific School of Religion, proclaimed "Some churches get economically self-sufficient. They don't really feel they need the rest of the world." Fifield, however, was so determined to defeat the union that shortly before the delegates voted on the question, he predicted, "If the merger is pushed through, the world will see the spectacle of a schism . . . You can break our hearts and send us home." Oddly enough, Fifield and his supporters were in the minority, for when the ballots were counted 757 favored the consolidation and 172 opposed it. The Los Angeles pastor, not willing to abide by the vote of the majority, gathered his disciples to a protest meeting at the Hotel Statler.

Inasmuch as the minority could not take defeat, finally a suit was filed by the Cadman Memorial Church in Brooklyn, New York. For twenty-three days, the New York Supreme Court was occupied with this case covering three thousand pages of testimony. The able Moderator, Helen Kenyon of the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches, testified that "We Congregationalists are proud of being free churches with our own local autonomy . . . I'm not one who likes to be bossed." Nevertheless, Justice Meier Steinbrink "decided that boss-hating Moderator Kenyon and her General Council associates had been a bit too bossy themselves." Such wrangling on the part of ministerial witnesses provided food for thought among the rank and file.

The oral decision which Justice Steinbrink handed down referred to the proposed Basis of Union as a "conglomeration of confusion and conflicting statements with a cacophony of ideas." Furthermore, he announced that the General Council "has not now, and never had the power or authority" to bind the Congregational churches. The astounded Moderator Kenyon remarked: "We will await the formal writing of the judgment before determining our future course." Arthur Acy Rouner, pastor of Cadman Memorial Church, was quite satisfied with the decision and proudly commented: "Our idea in the beginning was to save Congregationalism. We feel we have done that."[14] In any event ill feeling has been created and time alone will heal the wounded hearts.

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[14] *Time*, February 14, 1949, and February 6, 1950.

IV

The Reformed Church in the United States

THE merger of the Evangelical Synod of North America and the Reformed Church of America was a very significant step in church history, because three Reformed congregations had been organized into a coetus or synod one hundred and fifteen years before the *Kirchenverein* was created.

As early as May, 1562, under the guidance of Jean Ribaut of Dieppe, a devout Reformed churchman, a colony of thirty Huguenots arrived in Florida. A month later, their leader returned to France to organize another expedition for the land of opportunity. Meanwhile, the little colony in America became discouraged because of homesickness and a greatly reduced food supply. They went so far as to build a crude ship on which to make the return journey to France; but this projected journey never materialized. Some died of starvation and the remainder were taken on a British bark as prisoners to England.

The second colony, all of whom were French Reformed, arrived on June 25, 1564. This colony built a fort five miles from the mouth of the River of May—later known as the St. Johns—and thirty miles northwest of St. Augustine. This fort they named Caroline in honor of Charles IX. Francis Parkman, the literary historian, related that in May, 1565, "within the precinct of Fort Caroline a homesick, squalid band, dejected and worn, dragged their shrunken limbs about the sun-scorched area, or lay stretched in listless wretchedness under the shade of the barracks." Moreover, this party did not fare so well with the Indians. On July 27 "the war-whoop rose, and a tempest of stone-headed arrows clattered against the breastplate of the French, or, scorching like fire, tore through their unprotected limbs." Soon the handmaidens of starvation and dissatisfaction reigned at Fort Caroline. Whatever spark of hope remained in these impoverished bodies was ignited on August 3, when three vessels were sighted at the mouth of the river. Upon discovering that these were English ships and that their chief was Sir John Hawkins, cordial relations were established. Parkman claimed "there was a double tie of sympathy" because "both hated priests,

and both hated Spaniards." The Huguenots regarded Hawkins as a liberator and when he discovered that some of them were anxious to return to France, he exchanged one of his vessels for the cannons of the fort. He also supplied them with wine, biscuits, and other provisions for the return voyage. After the English had departed, the colonists made preparations to sail. While they were waiting for a fair wind, anxiety again descended upon them because they perceived a squadron approaching. One of the sentries fired at the vessels, but this brought no response. Finally, a voice from one of the strangers cried out that they were Frenchmen commanded by Jean Ribaut. The three hundred men with seven ships well laden with provisions for the colony were then given a hearty welcome.

Misfortune, however, was just around the corner; for on September 4 a huge ship bearing the Spanish flag approached and anchored near Ribaut's flagship, the "Trinity." Each group identified itself and made immediate preparations for an attack. Huguenots and Spaniards simultaneously cut their cables and engaged in a chase. The next morning armed men on the beach and on the vessels stood in readiness to prevent the Spaniards from making a successful landing. Consequently, the latter directed their ships southward and sailed along the coast until they reached an inlet and there built a fort and founded the town now known as St. Augustine. Don Pedro Menendez, the Spanish leader, then made plans for marching over land to attack Fort Caroline. With a force of five hundred men led by two Indians, the march began. On September 20 they descended upon the remnant of unprepared Frenchmen; for Ribaut had sailed on the tenth with the "bone and sinew of the colony" to make an attack by sea. Some of the defenseless fled to the woods; and one hundred and forty-two were killed near the fort, which had been laid in ruins by a storm on the eleventh. Menendez hanged a number of his prisoners on a tree under the inscription, "I do this, not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." The latter term is misleading since there were no Lutherans in France at that time. The French Protestants belonged either to the Huguenot or to the French Reformed faith.[1]

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[1] James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792* (Reading, Pennsylvania, 1899), 18.

Inasmuch as Ribaut's vessels had been wrecked on the sea, he and his men, unaware of the fate which had befallen Fort Caroline, started for the fort in two parties through the forests. Meanwhile, Menendez had returned to St. Augustine and on the twenty-eighth Indians reported a wrecked French vessel. Messengers were immediately sent out in search of these Frenchmen. When the shades of night had fallen, the light on the horizon from the campfires served as a guide for the Spaniards to locate their victims. In the morning they found the shipwrecked and inquired whether they were "Catholics or Lutherans." They replied "Lutherans." Thereupon Menendez related that the fort had been taken and demanded their surrender. The prisoners' hands were tied behind their backs with match cord and all except twelve professed Catholics and four carpenters were ordered to march to a lonely spot behind the bush-covered hills where they were butchered with knives. Also, through the Indians the second and larger expedition of three hundred and fifty men was discovered on October 10.

Menendez was courteous to the men and offered them wine and food. Then he led Ribaut "to the reeking Golgotha" where the corpses of the first group lay in heaps upon the sand. The next morning Ribaut reported to Menendez that one hundred and fifty of his men would surrender, but two hundred had retreated. Thereupon, Menendez commanded an officer to bring the Frenchmen over in parties of ten. They were then led behind the sand hill and their hands bound. Now the Spaniards surrounded their prisoners and yelled out, "Are you Catholics or Lutherans? and is there any one among you who will go to confession?" Ribaut replied, "I and all here are of the Reformed Faith." Menendez then spared the lives of two young men about eighteen years of age as well as the fifer, the drummer, and the trumpeter. The remainder, however, were tortured with the knife. One of those who had been saved was carried to Spain whence he escaped to France. A sailor only stunned when he had been "struck down in the butchery" was left for dead among the corpses. During the night he revived, managed to find his knife, and was able to cut the cords with which his hands were tied. He then escaped to an Indian village. The Indians turned him over to the Spaniards who sold him as a slave. He was placed on a ship bound for Portugal. The ship was taken by the Huguenots, the sailor freed,

and his account published. After the story had circulated in France, the relatives of those who had met tragic deaths dispatched petitions for redress to Charles IX.

Approximately twenty days after the second contingent had met its fate, the Indians notified Menendez that they had discovered the Frenchmen who had refused to surrender. Messengers were sent to the group but the Frenchmen fled when they saw the Spaniards approaching. A trumpeter was sent to summon them. Some declared that they would rather be eaten by the savages than trust themselves to the Spaniards, so made a hasty escape to Indian villages. An account relates that those who surrendered received kind treatment at the hands of the Spaniards. Nevertheless, Philip II of Spain ordered that those who had been saved should be sent to the galleys.[2] These captives may, therefore, have met a fate similar to that of their countrymen who had surrendered when first discovered.

Such cruelty created much bitterness in the hearts of many French Huguenots, stirred one French nobleman, Dominique de Gourgues, to a determination to right wrong and restore honor to the French name. In order to attain this goal, he sold his inheritance, borrowed money, and equipped three small vessels. Accordingly, on August 22, 1567, he embarked with one hundred and eighty men for points unknown to the crew. A violent storm, unpleasant experiences, and the uncertainty of their destination discouraged the men. When they approached the western end of Cuba, Gourgues gathered his sailors and in an eloquent speech related the purposes of the voyage and dramatically narrated the massacre of Fort Caroline and St. Augustine. The enthusiasm of these Frenchmen went beyond all expectations. Although Fort Caroline and St. Augustine had been well fortified by Menendez, the Spanish leader had forfeited the good will of the Indians because of the ill treatment he had meted out to them. As the French approached, the Indians gathered to engage in a struggle. Thereupon, discovering that they were Frenchmen, the Indians danced for joy. The next day Indians and Frenchmen gathered for a grand council. Before any one was able to speak, an Indian

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[2] Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World* (2 vols., Boston, 1899), I, 33-95, 110-13, 116-28, 132-51; "Seven Letters from General Pedro Menendez de Aviles to the King of Spain," *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, VIII (1892-1894), 416-68.

gave vent to his feelings by denouncing the cruelty of the Spaniards, and declaring that the Indians had been very unhappy. Gourgues thanked the tribesmen for their good will, and declared that, if they had been abused because of their loyalty to the French, the day of reckoning was near. The Indians cried for joy because the Huguenots had come to fight the Spaniards. They agreed to aid the French, but the chief requested three days to make the necessary preparations. Gourgues then made a generous distribution of gifts. The chief, to prove that he was a friend of the French and would support them against the Spanish, gave as hostages his only living son and favorite wife. When the appointed day arrived, there was considerable excitement within the ranks of both tribesmen and Huguenots. As soon as all was in readiness, the march began "in pitchy darkness, among trunks of trees, fallen logs, tangled vines, and swollen streams." Although weary and footsore, the eyes of the men sparkled and their hearts throbbed when Gourgues spotted the Spanish fort, pointed to it, and cried out, "there are the robbers who have stolen this land from our King; there are the murderers who have butchered our countrymen!" Orders for action were given, and since the Spaniards were unprepared, not a single one escaped. The lives of a few prisoners were spared, but the remainder were slain. On the trees where at an earlier date had hung Huguenots now hung Spaniards under the inscription: "Not as to Spaniards, but as to Traitors, Robbers, and Murderers."[3] Thus the French colony had been destroyed and revenge had been doled out to the Spaniards.

During the next century, the Huguenots found a refuge in the Carolinas and established a French Reformed church at an early date in Charleston, South Carolina.[4]

Another Reformed group which preceded the German Reformed settlers was the Dutch Reformed in New Amsterdam. The first governor of the colony, Peter Minuit, was born in 1580 at Wesel, a Reformed stronghold in northwestern Germany. He had been an elder in a large French Reformed church at the place of his birth. On May 4, 1626, he arrived in America to take up his duties as governor-general of the Dutch colony. The first

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[3] Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, I, 158-76.
[4] Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States*, 25.

fully ordained minister in New Netherland, Jonas Michaëlius, arrived on April 7, 1628. He preached and administered the sacraments in the loft of Franchoys Fezard's mill. On the consistory he appointed two elders, Peter Minuit and Jan Huyghen, Minuit's brother-in-law and the company's storekeeper. Sebastian J. Crol was also a member of the consistory, but since he was located at Fort Orange, it was impossible for him to attend very many meetings. Thus one of the first Protestant congregations in the United States was established. It was later known as the Collegiate Reformed Congregation of New York City. Another early Dutch minister, John Megapolensis, departed with his wife, Machtelt, and four children for America in June, 1642. On March 6, 1642, he had entered into a contract with Kiliaen Van Rensselaer to minister to the people at the colony of Rensselaerswyck among whom were many Indians. Six years later, on April 7, he asked to be relieved of his duties as he wished to return to his native country.[5] These early ministers had paved the way for those who were to follow.

After Minuit resigned in 1632 he was engaged by the Swedish West India Company to establish a colony in America. Six years later, on March 15, the expedition landed in Delaware Bay. Thus it appears that the New World had some sort of magnetic power over this early pioneer governor. James I. Good, the Reformed historian, has left this eulogy of Minuit: "As he was of French blood, yet of German birth, and in the employ of the Dutch, he was well fitted to represent the future Reformed churches of America, which have been made up of Dutch, German and French elements. And his colony in Delaware, though Swedish Lutheran, nevertheless indirectly prepared the way . . . for the founding of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania. Though dead, his Reformed faith followed after him as a blessed legacy to our Church."[6] From this tribute it is apparent that the laity, too, played an important role in the advancement of religion in the New World.

In addition to the French and Dutch, a third element, the Germans, produced an episode in the early history of the Re-

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[5] *Ibid.*, 26-29; *History of the State of New York* (10 vols., New York, 1933-1937), I, 251, 253; *Ecclesiastical Records: State of New York* (7 vols., Albany, 1901-1916), I, 43-83, 143-49, 228.

[6] Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States*, 30.

formed Church in North America. During 1709 there was a large exodus of inhabitants from the Palatinate to London. This may be attributed to the war of 1688-1689 and the brutal orders of Louis XIV of France for the destruction of twelve hundred villages and towns. Not quite satisfied with what had been accomplished, four years later he sent his army again to complete the devastation. During the wars of the Spanish succession from 1701 to 1713, the Palatinate was again traversed by armies marching to the battlefields in Bavaria, Italy, and the Netherlands. Moreover, in 1707 when a French army crossed the Palatinate, it reduced this region "to a perfect wilderness, not leaving the poor Reformed so much as a house to hide their heads in or hardly clothes to cover their nakedness."

During those days armies were supported by the country through which they passed and many areas became poverty-stricken. This had been the case of the Palatines, and a severe winter in 1708-1709 only added to the misery. A third factor which induced a large number to leave was religious persecution. The Palatinate had been a Reformed country until 1865 when the crown was placed on the head of a Catholic prince. A pamphlet published in London in 1699 declared that the Palatines had suffered as much as the Huguenots in France. Dissatisfaction with the land of their birth and lack of hope for the future served as incentives for many to emigrate.

Consequently, Joshua Kocherthal, a Lutheran minister of the Palatinate, with a colony of forty-one, of whom twenty-six were Reformed and fifteen Lutherans, left for London in 1708. They were naturalized there, and then at the expense of Queen Anne were directed to New York where they arrived on January 1, 1709. The largest contingent of approximately four thousand arrived in New York on June 13, 1710, "a crushed, sick and dispirited band of exiles." They had been sent over to prepare trees for extracting tar. Their efforts in extracting tar from the New York forests, however, met with failure; for the trees would not yield it. They endured further disappointments and hardships, because the Whig party which had supported them was out of power and the Tories refused to aid the Palatines. Having become dissatisfied, the legend about the gift of land which the Indians had made to Queen Anne for their use preyed upon their minds. Among this group was Conrad Weiser, who wrote

in his journal: "For the Indian deputies who were in England at the time the German people were lying in tents on the Black moor [Blackheath] had made a present to Queen Anne of this Schochary that she might settle these people upon it." This appears to be a combination of legend and truth.

Peter Schuyler had taken five Indians to England in 1710, but the Palatines had embarked for New York in December of 1709. Moreover, one of the Indians who had taken the journey to London conferred with Governor Robert Hunter on August 22, 1710, and remarked, "We are told that the great Queen of Great Brittain had sent a considerable number of People with your Excy to setle upon the land called Skohere, which was a great surprise to us and we were much disatisfyd at the news, in Regard the Land belongs to us . . . . Nevertheless since Your Excellcy has been pleased to desire the said land for christian settlements, we are willing and do now Surrender . . . to the Queen . . . for Ever all that tract of Land Called Skohere."

Walter A. Knittle, who has written the most scholarly book on the Palatine Emigration, stated that the "gift was not inspired by the wretchedness of the Palatine immigrants, and [that] there existed no obligations on the part of Governor Hunter to settle the Palatines there." In a petition to the Board of Trade on August 20, 1720, the Palatines claimed the Indians had given the land to Queen Anne for them.

Sometime during 1712 the Palatines sent a deputation of seven to spy out the land. Before the arrival of winter fifty families left for Schoharie. The governor commanded them to return, but the inclemency of the weather made it too late for them to return. It was due chiefly to the kindness of the Indians that they survived the winter. The second party of one hundred came in the spring, traveling through deep snow, and suffering from inclement weather and hunger. Shortly after their arrival the claims to their lands were again questioned. The government attempted to use force; but when the sheriff appeared, the women took over under the leadership of Magdalena Zeh. They rode the sheriff on a rail for approximately seven miles and eventually left him to his own resources to find his way home with two broken ribs. Yet, conferences with the governor and appeals to the English crown ended fruitlessly.

Another home had to be sought. Some settled in the Mohawk

Valley and the remainder went to Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania. The latter choice was made as a result of a visit in 1722 to Albany of Sir William Keith, the governor of Pennsylvania, who was negotiating a treaty with the Indians. When he heard about the predicament of the Palatines, he suggested that they come to Pennsylvania. They were delighted with the invitation. Hence, under the leadership of Hartman Vinedecker, thirty-three families left in 1723 for Pennsylvania, less than eight months after Keith had made the offer. With an Indian guide they went over mountains to the north branch of the Susquehanna. They then took out enough time to construct rafts for the women, children, and furniture, and the men drove cattle down the stream along the shore. They floated down the Susquehanna until they reached Swatara Creek and journeyed up this stream until they came to the district of Tulpehocken, near Lebanon, and named it Heidelberg. Having had so much success in this venture, they wrote back to friends in New York. The result of this good news was that in 1729 another band directed their paths toward Pennsylvania under the guidance of Conrad Weiser. While the Palatine immigration to New York did not affect the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania directly—since the Germans who settled in New York became members of the Dutch Reformed Church—indirectly it had a great influence. When friends in Germany learned what hardship the Palatines in New York had endured, many of those who came later chose Pennsylvania instead of New York.[7] At last there appeared to be a future for the long-suffering Palatines.

During the first part of the eighteenth century, the Swiss also directed their eyes toward the land of promise, especially the Carolinas. Christopher von Graffenried, of an aristocratic family of Bern, came to London in 1709 at a time when the city was overcrowded with Palatines. A dream of his to undertake a voyage to America and found a colony, therefore, won support. Accordingly, he and Franz Louis Michel made an agreement on

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[7] Walter A. Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (Philadelphia, 1937), 150-53, *et passim;* "Conrad Weiser's Tagebuch," *Der Deutsche Pionier,* II (1870), 812-186, 216; *Ecclesiastical Records: State of New York,* III, 2169; Benjamin M. Brink, "The Palatine Settlements," *Proceedings* of the New York State Historical Association, XI (1912), 136-43; Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States,* 31-51; Sanford G. Cobb, *The Story of the Palatines* (New York, 1897), *passim.*

October 10 with the Queen's commissioners to transport six hundred persons consisting of ninety-two families to North Carolina. Each person received twenty shillings in clothes and the contractors received five pounds and ten shillings for each of the six hundred individuals to provide for their transportation to North America. Upon their arrival in America and after the land had been surveyed, each family was also to receive two hundred and fifty acres of land free for five years and thereafter pay the sum of two pence per acre. Graffenried and Michel were to provide grain and other provisions for these unfortunate Palatines. Likewise, four months after their arrival, the contractors were required to deliver "two cows and two calves, five sows with their several young, two ewe sheep and two lambs, with a male of each kind, who may be able to propagate." At the expiration of seven years each family was to return to Graffenried and Michel "the value of said cattle so delivered to them, with a moiety of the stock then remaining in their hands." The contractors were also to give the Palatines "tools and implements for felling of wood and building . . . houses." To this expedition of Palatines fifty more persons were added on October 21. Some accounts claim the addition was a group of Swiss.

Graffenried did not accompany this expedition but waited for a second one composed of Swiss which left in July, 1710. Some accounts state there were fifteen hundred persons, but this is questionable since Graffenried mentioned only one ship. The Swiss injected new life into the colony and both groups worked to place things on a sound footing. They laid out a town at Chattawka Point on the Neuse and Trent rivers in North Carolina, in the semblance of a cross. In the center a lot was reserved for a church. Since all the Swiss and many of the Palatines were Reformed, they established a congregation of that faith in their new village. It later became a Presbyterian church. Each family was given three acres of land so they could build cabins and prepare the soil for planting. Through the combination of the name of the river, *Neuse,* and the home city of the Swiss, *Bern,* the settlement received the appellation New Bern.

Both the Swiss and the Palatines encountered difficulties with their land titles and the Indians. In the fall of 1711 these colonists became victims of the great Indian massacre. Between sixty and seventy lost their lives and many were taken prisoners.

Among the prisoners was Graffenried, who was finally released by consenting to a treaty with the tribesmen in which he agreed that his colony would remain neutral in the war between the Indians and Carolinians. Moreover, he made a pledge not to take any land without first consulting the Tuscarora king. The Indians in return consented not to molest the colony. Hence, the Swiss and Palatines were to place a large N on their houses as a sign to the tribesmen not to disturb. Some in the colony, however, did not wish to remain neutral while other people were suffering and so the truce was broken. After the war ended the colony "was in a shattered condition."[8] Those who were spared must have had little hope for a future.

At the time the English were wondering what to do with some more Palatines that arrived in their country, another governor from the New World happened to be in London. Therefore, upon the invitation of Alexander Spotswood, governor of Virginia, John H. Haeger and twelve German Protestant families of about fifty persons settled at Germanna on the southern branch of the Rappahannock in April, 1714. They came from Nassau-Siegen, were members of the Reformed church, and were miners by trade. On November 24 in the year of their arrival the Virginia House of Burgesses recorded in its journal that, "We heartily Receive the *German* Protestants into our Country, And as a Mark of our good Disposition towards them have chearfully given them an Immunity from Taxes for Seven years, If any more of that Nation and Religion Shall find Occasion to Settle with them, We question not, they will meet with a Reception and Incouragement, Suitable to their Condition."[9]

John Fontaine, a Huguenot, visited the colony in June, 1715. Upon his arrival on the evening of the twentieth, he went to the home of the minister, but there was no food. The next day during a hard rain, he made an inspection tour of the small town, which was palisaded with stakes stuck in the ground and thirty miles from any habitations. He remarked that there were "but

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[8] Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 100-5; *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, I, 707, 717-19, 986-88; 990-92; 927-84; *Historical Papers* of the Historical Society of Trinity College, Series IV (1900), 64-71; Vincent H. Todd and Julius Goebel, *Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern* (Raleigh, North Carolina, 1920); Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States*, 52-60.

[9] *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1712-1726*, p. 90.

nine families," and they had "nine houses, built all in a line; and before every house, about twenty feet distant from it," they had "small sheds built for their hogs and hens, so that the hog sties and houses" made a street. The village was regularly laid out with a five-sided blockhouse in the center. Divine services were held in this defense house. The inhabitants must have been a pious group, for Fontaine stated they went to prayers once a day and listened to two sermons on Sunday. He was also impressed because they sang the psalms so well. Before he and his party left, they collected thirty shillings among themselves for the minister.[10] The religious meetings described by Fontaine are the first German Reformed services held in America of which any record has been made.

After the German Reformed members had lived at Germanna for four years, they directed their eyes toward another region because the governor did not permit them to take up the land for their own use. When this news reached Spotswood, he made an effort to retain them by having legislation enacted on November 2, 1720, whereby foreign Protestants "shall entertain a minister of their own" and that "they and their titheables shall be free for ten years, from the said first of May, 1721."[11] In 1719 and 1720 petitions had been sent to England and Germany for aid, and their agent Jacob C. Zollikoffer had returned from Europe the early part of 1721 with sufficient money to undertake a new enterprise. Therefore, the Reformed colonists probably removed from Germanna in the spring of 1721, to Fauquier County about eight miles south of Warrenton. Here they were to pay an annual rent of one shilling sterling for every fifty acres.[12] Gradually other settlers moved away from Germanna and the town as well as the church eventually disappeared.

Another expedition of Germans in 1717 was shipwrecked off the eastern coast of America and sold by the captain to the governor of Virginia. Ten or fifteen years later this little colony

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[10] Ann Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family* (New York, n.d.), 268-69.
[11] William W. Hening, *Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia* (13 vols., Richmond, 1819-1823), II, 78.
[12] William J. Hinke, "The First German Reformed Colony in Virginia, 1714-1750," *Journal* of the Presbyterian Historical Society, II (1903-1904), 1-17, 98-110, 110-50; Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States*, 61, 687-89; Herbert Huffman, "The First Reformed Congregation," *The Messenger*, July 7, 1953.

received assistance from Berks County, Pennsylvania, and founded Strausburg in the lower Shenandoah Valley. The churches which took root in some of these German settlements later appealed to the coetus of Pennsylvania to supply them with ministers.[13] Thus the small German Reformed congregations in Virginia were among the first in America of that denomination.

The Reformed historian Good asserted that the Dutch organization was the nucleus for the beginning of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, Peter Minuit the secular forerunner, and Samuel Guldin the spiritual herald. Guldin was a native of Berne, Switzerland, and arrived in Pennsylvania on December 1, 1710, with his wife and four children. While he may be credited with being the first German Reformed minister in Pennsylvania, he had no part in the organization of the church and never belonged to the coetus. After the first church had been built at Germantown in 1719, he was occasionally in the pulpit there. Apparently he lacked the aggressiveness which might have made him the founder of the German Reformed Church in America. This honor, however, was bestowed upon two schoolmasters, John P. Boehm and John Conrad Tempelman.

Boehm was born at Hochstadt and baptized there on November 25, 1683. He entered the teaching profession in 1708 and for seven years taught at Worms. A prominent man in the consistory, Christopher Schmidt, had not favored the appointment of Boehm, and by 1710 real friction had occurred on the matter of baptismal fees. Since the schoolmaster also served as the sexton, he received the baptismal fees. Schmidt had suggested that this stipend be placed in the alms fund of the church but to this Boehm objected. A member of the consistory acted as a willing tool for Schmidt and not only deprived Boehm of the fees but also withheld his salary for eleven weeks. Finally, on July 6, 1711, the matter was brought before the city council which returned a decision in favor of Boehm; but Schmidt defied it. Four months later a compromise was reached whereby it was left up to the people having children baptized whether they wished to contribute a fee or not.

Three years passed in relative tranquillity before Schmidt found another opportunity to attack. The constitution of the

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[13] Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States*, 61.

church stipulated that the deacons were to provide the bread for communion and bring it to the schoolmaster, who should cut it into small pieces. Christopher Erb, the baker, delivered the bread; and when Boehm tried to cut it into slices, he had no success because it was so brittle. Soon thereafter in very unorthodox procedure Boehm was notified he had been dismissed and was ordered to vacate the schoolhouse in six weeks. Boehm fought for his rights, but became so disgusted with the whole matter that on November 25, 1715, he tendered his resignation and took a position as teacher at Lambsheim near Frankenthal. The last time his name appeared in the accounts of the town was April 6, 1720, and probably after that he embarked for America.

This step on his part led him to the door of opportunity which he opened and entered the wilderness of the New World to meet the challenge. There he organized the first German Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania. Many had come to clasp the warm hand of welcome and freedom extended by Pennsylvania. German land companies also directed people to this colony. Since there was no minister of the Reformed faith to conduct services for Germans living in the Schuylkill Valley north of Philadelphia, the settlers in this region persuaded Boehm to become their pastor. Because he was not an ordained man, he declined. The people, however, refused to accept no as an answer. Hence, circumstances forced the schoolmaster to act as their guide in spiritual matters. Boehm's experiences in Pennsylvania in this respect were similar to those of Garlichs, who over a hundred years later organized the first German congregation in Missouri of the Evangelical Synod of North America. Both were teachers and were persuaded to meet a frontier problem. Boehm organized three congregations north of Philadelphia. The first of these was at Falkner Swamp where he administered the sacrament of Holy Communion on October 15, 1725, to forty members; the second at Skippack, in November, to thirty-seven members; and the third at White Marsh, on December 23, to twenty-four members. The latter congregation eventually united with the Presbyterians.

The constitution which these churches adopted was very Calvinistic in many respects. For instance, the consistory which had been Calvin's contribution to the Reformed church government, he thoroughly organized. Another provision which commanded strict church discipline and penalties for those who

failed to follow the straight and narrow path was also a Calvinistic idea. Moreover, the creeds of the Reformed Church of Holland as well as the Heidelberg Catechism were accepted. A careful study of this constitution will reveal that Boehm was a man of more than average ability and the possessor of a logical mind for constitutional points. He made an attempt to have other Reformed congregations accept his constitution.

Another schoolmaster already referred to as one of the organizers of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania was John Conrad Tempelman, born at Weinheim and baptized on March 22, 1692. A tailor by trade, he lived on the hill at the castle at Heidelberg. Just when he migrated to America has not been discovered, but it probably was between 1721 and 1725. He began preaching in 1725 in the Conestoga Valley of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. In that year at Chanestoka a small group gathered here and there in houses. They read a sermon, sang, and prayed according to the German Reformed order on Sundays and holidays. Since there was no minister in the vicinity, the people were without the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper. The people, therefore, urged him to become their minister. They were "willing to be instructed and comforted by a pious layman, rather than be wholly without the public service of God." The congregation he served reported that he was a "man of correct views, quiet and peaceable in spirit," and that he had "won the love and respect of the community."[14] Thus two laymen laid the foundation of the German Reformed Church upon which future generations built a sturdy structure.

During the first half of the eighteenth century trained theologians of the Reformed church also came to the land of opportunity. Among these pioneers was George Michael Weiss, who had studied at the University of Heidelberg and was ordained in Heidelberg in 1725. Two years later he was directed to America by the Palatinate consistory. He and four hundred German emigrants embarked on the "William and Sarah" for the New World and landed at Philadelphia on September 18, 1727, and three days later took the oath of allegiance. Soon after his arrival he continued the good work begun by Boehm. The Palatinate consistory at Heidelberg testified that Weiss was "not only right-

[14] *Ibid.*, 62-67, 111, *et passim.*

minded in doctrine and unblamable in life, peace-loving and sociable in his walk and conversation, but also edifying in his manifold discourses." He had also been credited with writing one of the first books published by the German Reformed in America. The small volume of twenty-nine pages was printed in German by Andrew Bradford in Philadelphia, in 1729. It was the story of a minister who had wandered in the American wilderness among men of various nations and religions, and who had been attacked in various ways. This book was directed particularly against the Newborn, who believe in sinless perfection in this life. The sect had settled in large numbers in Oley, Berks County, Pennsylvania. Their leader, Matthew Bowman, was a native of Lambsheim where Boehm had taught for a number of years. "They became so outspoken that their disputations were heard in the markets of Philadelphia, whither these country people went to bring produce for sale." Weiss was determined that nothing should influence a division of the Reformed. Because of this view he revealed "ability as well as his zeal for his Reformed faith."

While the arrival of Weiss was an asset to the Reformed church, it also produced dissension. Weiss disapproved of Boehm preaching and administering the sacraments because he was not an ordained minister. Boehm also had his grievances. He declared that before Weiss' arrival there had been complete harmony in his congregations. Furthermore, he complained that Weiss administered holy communion without any examination of the members and in one congregation had admitted individuals who were under discipline. With respect to another sacrament Boehm accused Weiss of baptizing "some Indian children whose parents were still heathen." On November 28, 1727, Weiss wrote a letter to Boehm requesting him to come to Philadelphia for an examination. This summons irritated Boehm to such an extent that he never answered it. But four months later, when Boehm was scheduled to preach for the Skippack congregation, Weiss gathered his group to enact a more embarrassing situation. Since the congregation did not have a building, services were held in private homes. Therefore, when Boehm arrived to conduct the services, the Weiss faction prevented him from entering the house. Both factions were well represented and finally heated arguments terminated in a tumult. The climax, however, was

reached on June 22, 1729, when the new church was dedicated at Skippack. Most of the money for the building had been contributed by the Boehm followers, but Jacob Reiff in some manner managed to obtain a title to the land and declared it was his own since it was built on his property.

Finally, Boehm and his party decided much of this pettiness could be avoided if Boehm became an ordained minister. He, therefore, made his application in July, 1728, to the classis of Amsterdam in Holland. This procedure had been recommended by the New York ministers. After much delay the classis finally handed down their decision to this group of pastors and Pennsylvania congregations. They stated that the conditions under which Boehm had undertaken the work in Pennsylvania were definitely a true call to the ministry in spite of the fact that not all formalities had been complied with. Furthermore, they declared that his ministerial acts should be considered lawful and he be ordained if he accepted the Heidelberg Catechism, abided by the Canons of Dort, and maintained correspondence with the classis of Amsterdam. Boehm's congregations were notified on September 4, 1729, of the decision of the classis, and on Sunday afternoon November 23, he was ordained in New York. This act produced a reconciliation of Boehm and Weiss.

The ordination also linked the official connection of the church in Holland with the Pennsylvania Reformed which began in 1728, when the classis of Amsterdam received Boehm's appeal. Consequently, the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania from that time until 1793 was under the jurisdiction of the Reformed Church of Holland.[15]

Following this brief introduction of the early pioneers in the Reformed church, a few remarks about the religious life among the Germans in Pennsylvania are in order. Turner stated that "from its beginning, Pennsylvania was advertised as a home for dissenting sects seeking freedom in the wilderness." In commenting on the Germans he said "they had found the best soils, and they knew how to till them intensively and thriftily, as attested by their large, well-filled barns, good stock, and big canvas-covered Conestoga wagons. They preferred to dwell in groups, often of the same religious denomination—Lutherans, Reformed,

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[15] *Ibid.*, 116-17, 119, *et passim.*

Moravians, Mennonites, and many lesser sects."[16] Because of the larger number of sects in Pennsylvania, it was known as *"Sectenland."* There were Mennonites, Dunkers, Schwenkfelders, Newborn, Inspired, Separatists, Hermits, Labadists, Ronsdorfers, and Moravians, who had been influenced by a religious fanaticism which had its origin in Europe. Because the Germans were naturally interested in religious matters and there were very few ministers on the frontier to serve them, these sects found many adherents and also invaded regions where the Lutherans and Reformed were active. Even some Reformed ministers from Europe were carried away with this religious fanaticism.

In order to unite the religious groups among the Germans, an Inspirationist layman, John Adam Gruber of Oley, Pennsylvania, in 1736 invited the various sects to consider some sort of union. The response to his call was disappointing. Then, Henry Antes, a Bavarian miller and wheelwright by trade, became interested in the movement. He had been a leader in his church and was referred to in that district as "the pious Reformed elder of Falkner Swamp." Under the leadership of Count Nicholas Zinzendorf, the Moravian, Antes called a meeting at Germantown for January 1, 1742, and a plan of union known as "the Congregation of God in the Spirit" was outlined. It was hoped that such a scheme might bring the German religious bodies into some sort of union. It was bitterly opposed by some of the Reformed ministers, but several of this faith became members of the union.

Four years later Michael Schlatter, born at St. Gall on July 14, 1716, came to America to minister to the Germans in Pennsylvania. He was instructed to organize the ministers and congregations into a coetus. Therefore, on October 12, 1746, one month after he had arrived in Philadelphia, he invited Boehm, Weiss, and John B. Rieger to a conference. These men met for an informal discussion and one year later on September 29, organized the coetus with twenty-eight elders from twelve charges. Heretofore the Reformed in Pennsylvania had existed as separate congregations or as individual charges. The word coetus was taken from an organization of John à Lasco, who first organized the ministers at Emden in northwestern Germany into a coetus in 1544. It was an ecclesiastical body resembling a synod which

[16] Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 100, 102.

possessed only advisory powers. The coetus which Schlatter formed marked a new era in the history of the Reformed church. The congregations now began to live for each other and for the welfare of the Reformed church at large. The constitution of the coetus was democratic Calvinism, the individuality of the congregation being preserved and guarded in connection with the authority of the church.

During the coetal period, which extended over forty-five years, the Reformed church was under the supervision of the Church of Holland and received subsidies as well as ministers from it. In return, the proceedings of the coetus had to be reported to the synods of Holland and no action could be final without their approval. This arrangement did not prove very satisfactory and a number of congregations never identified themselves with the coetus but chose ministers who were independent of any ecclesiastical control. Such procedure discouraged unity as well as progress. Since there was also some dissatisfaction with the political life in the colonies, it was only a matter of years for a break to become effective. Therefore, when the colonies won their independence from England, the leading religious bodies also severed their relations with European organizations and became autonomous ecclesiastical units in America. Accordingly, in 1793, the Reformed church proclaimed its independence and the name of the governing body was changed to the Synod of the German Reformed Church in America.

In 1782 the Reformed church sent its first missionary to western Pennsylvania and three years later directed one to North Carolina. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they were expanding farther west and in 1803 had penetrated the hills and valleys of the Middle West, especially Ohio. Since the field had been enlarged and there was a scarcity of laborers, it soon became evident that some type of organization would need to be created whereby the mission work could be supervised and that a theological seminary to train ministers was essential. As early as 1787 Benjamin Franklin had founded Franklin College at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to educate the Germans in the state; but this was not a church-supported institution. Finally, in 1825, the theological seminary was opened at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the following year a missionary establishment came into being. There were, however, those who did not approve of these

projects. Consequently, in 1822, a number of ministers had withdrawn from the Synod and formed "The Synod of the Free German Reformed Congregations of Pennsylvania." Later, it was changed to "The German Reformed Synod of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States." At that time its membership consisted of fifty-seven ministers and one hundred congregations. After fifteen years the wayward children returned to put their feet under the parent table. Two other separatistic movements had occurred, one of which was under the leadership of William Otterbein in Baltimore. This became the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. Another one in the early twenties piloted by John Weibrenner in Harrisburg organized the Church of God.

Since the Reformed congregations covered a large territory and transportation was inadequate, in 1819 the Synod was divided into eight districts or classes. The entire section west of Pennsylvania became the Ohio Classis. Inasmuch as the Classis was not permitted to ordain ministers and the candidates for the ministry from Ohio found it too inconvenient and expensive to travel to eastern Pennsylvania, the Ohio Classis in 1824 resolved itself into a synod. Although there were now two ecclesiastical units functioning in two different areas, the unity of the Reformed church was not broken. Both synods operated under the same constitution and followed the same methods of expanding and administering their interests.

In November of 1863 the General Synod was created at Pittsburgh whereupon the eastern and western sections of the church became more intimately united for practical work. It set up boards and agencies to extend the work of the church, and appointed a committee to prepare a liturgy. Different theological views, however, came to the surface and a controversy almost rocked the foundation of the Reformed church. In 1878 a peace commission was formed and through it peace and harmony were restored to the church.

The General Synod promoted both foreign and home missions. Its Board of Home Missions concentrated on certain national groups in America, such as: the Hungarians, the Japanese, the Czechs, and also the Winnebago Indians in Wisconsin. Numerous other boards were organized to carry forward the work of the church.

With respect to educational institutions, it has already been

noted that the first one was formed in 1825 at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and moved to York, Pennsylvania, some years later. There in 1831, a classical high school was opened to serve as a proseminar. Five years later both these institutions were moved to Mercersburg and the high school became Marshall College. In 1853, Marshall College removed to Lancaster and joined Franklin College to form Franklin and Marshall College. Eighteen years later the seminary was moved from Mercersburg to Lancaster.

The Ohio Synod also took an interest in higher education and in 1838 established a theological seminary at Canton, Ohio. It existed for only a short time, but in 1846 an effort was made by A. P. Freeze to revive it. Freeze had established an academy at Columbus, Ohio, and J. H. Good had done the same at Lancaster, Ohio. The Ohio Synod combined these interests; and on October 31, 1848, opened in Columbus the "Ohio Literary and Theological Institution." Two years later the Ohio Synod decided to locate the theological and literary institution at Tarlton, Ohio, where S. S. Rickly had charge of an academy. There was considerable dissatisfaction about this location because there were already numerous schools in this region, which was a Methodist rather than a Reformed community. Hence, in November of 1850, the institutions were moved to Tiffin, Ohio, and operated under the name of Heidelberg College. Also in that same year the seminary was moved to Tiffin. The seminary later united with the Ursinus School of Theology to form Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio. This seminary merged with Eden Theological Seminary at the time of the union.

The four ministers and twenty-eight laymen who had organized the coetus planted a seed in the soil of Pennsylvania which germinated and steadily grew until in 1934 it had developed into a body of six synods, 59 classes, 1,350 ministers, 1,700 congregations, 350,000 members, twelve educational institutions, as well as orphanages, hospitals, homes for the aged, mission stations throughout the United States and in Canada, also in Japan, China, and Iraq.[17] The Evangelical Synod of North America was

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[17] Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, passim;* James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the U. S. in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1911); *Two Eras: One Past—One to Come* (n.p., 1940).

fortunate to unite with a synod which had taken root in America over a hundred years before the *Kirchenverein* was organized.

A chapter on the Reformed church, however, cannot be concluded without mentioning the Reformed Church of Hungary, which before 1918 was the largest and one of the oldest Reformed bodies operating under the Presbyterian system in the world. Despite the size and age of this church body, it was not until after 1904 that a classis was established in America. The wars of 1848 in Europe encouraged Hungarians in larger numbers to seek liberty across the Atlantic Ocean. In this land of their adoption these lonely immigrants gathered in small groups to sing their old psalms in their native tongue. Such congregations as developed could not exist without leadership. Therefore, they requested assistance from Reformed ministers and the Board of Home Missions was directed to form Hungarian congregations. The official Hungarian Reformed Church, however, took no interest as a body in these struggling congregations in America. There must have been some concern on the part of a group in the Old World, for on October 12, 1890, the first Hungarian missionary, Gustavus Juranyi, arrived in Cleveland. Over one hundred persons attended the first service he conducted and sixty became regular members. Most of the immigrants were transient workers who earned very little, but they managed to save enough to erect buildings in which to worship. Through the Board of Home Missions the missionaries and local church bodies were subsidized.

There was need of co-operation among the missionaries, and on October 7, 1904, the Classis of the Reformed Church of Hungary was formed in Trenton, New Jersey, with only six congregations, but two years later the number had doubled. As more and more Hungarians arrived in the United States, the mother country invested large sums of money in the mission churches and also paid a portion of the ministers' salaries. World War I, however, separated the mother from her children and thenceforth no more assistance was forthcoming.

The constitution adopted by the Evangelical and Reformed Church in 1939 at Cleveland created the Magyar Synod. This step was taken "to satisfy the overwhelming majority of ministers and congregations who felt the need of a continued separate existence for the time being, and because the Hungarian member-

ship" was still made up mostly of first-generation immigrants. At that time it had eighty congregations consisting of fifty-five charges with sixty ministers.[18] The Synod has already demonstrated its usefulness through publications and its efforts to promote the entire program of the church.

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[18] *Two Eras: One Past—One to Come.*

V

The First Fifty Years of Trinity, 1853-1903

To the appearance of the Württembergers in 1814 on the present site of New Harmony may be credited the beginning of formal religious services in Posey County. To them the erection of a house of worship was as important as the construction of living quarters. Their church, "a neat wooden building, painted white," with "a tower, a bell, and a clock" beckoned the traveler to its portals. Upon opening the doors to the sanctuary, Fordham discovered the men sat "at one end of the church and the women at the other." He was also impressed with the position of Rapp, who sat "in a chair placed on a stage, about one yard high with a table before him." Another custom appeared unusual to this Englishman, for the Harmonists did not rise nor kneel to pray, but bent "their bodies forward, almost to their knees."[1]

At approximately the same time that these Germans arrived, a Baptist minister, one Samuel Jones, also began to spread the gospel, preaching in private homes or in groves. The Methodists, too, soon afterwards took notice of this area as a fertile field. In 1815, they sent Thomas King, Thomas David, and John Schrader to ride the circuit. During the following year James Moultry and Joseph Wasson proclaimed the message of salvation to a group which later organized the Christian church. Likewise by 1820, the Cumberland Presbyterian ministers began to follow the pioneer paths over land and water to Posey County.[2] Yet six years later, despite the missionary zeal of all four groups, the inhabitants of Mount Vernon had not been inspired sufficiently to build a house of worship. In April of 1826 when the German nobleman, Karl Bernhard, visited this river town on the Ohio he attended services conducted at the courthouse by a young Yankee Presbyterian preacher. This young zealot held forth in the temporary one-room log structure whose sole illumination was provided by a chimney fire and two tallow candles, while his audience of some twenty people listened from crude

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[1] Fordham, *Personal Narrative of Travels*, 207-8.
[2] Leffel, *History of Posey County*, 132.

seats constructed of blocks and boards. Bernhard was unimpressed, if not shocked, at the homespun crudity of the place and of the service. To his highly attuned European ears the singing—led by the nasal voices of the elderly self-trained singers—produced a jumble of discordant notes.[3] This and other experiences which he suffered in the village added up to a general disagreeable impression of the place.

By 1827, Elijah Goodwin,[4] an early preacher, referred to two log meeting houses in Posey County. One of these was located at the "Yankee Settlement," now known as Farmersville, where he preached once a month on Sundays. Since Mount Vernon was only four miles south of this community, he went there on Saturdays to proclaim the gospel. Because the remuneration for such services was not sufficient to keep body and soul together, the pioneer preacher was forced to engage in some other occupation. Consequently, Goodwin entered the teaching profession and, in the spring of 1832, was employed as a teacher at Cynthiana where he established residence. During this time he also served the little church at the "Yankee Settlement." After a year, he was prevailed upon to move to Mount Vernon. In January of 1833, Goodwin was appointed assessor; and when the school year terminated, he began the new job.

As soon as this work had been completed, he was successful in obtaining a position as teacher in the town. A year later he took a job in a store as salesman and bookkeeper. In 1835, the talents of this twenty-eight-year-old young man were not exhausted, so he accepted the appointment as tax collector. Upon the completion of this work, Goodwin took on a clerkship in Darius North's store for a year. He must have demonstrated considerable ability in this new job; for before his term ended, North

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[3] Bernhard, *Travels through North America*. II, 124-25.

[4] Elijah Goodwin was born in Champaign County, Ohio, on January 16, 1807. In the fall of 1809 his father, Aaron, left the Buckeye State to seek his fortunes in the far west. Such possessions as they claimed were packed in wagons and they started for Illinois Territory. When they arrived at the "American Bottom" about twelve miles east from St. Louis, they were greeted by the cold winds of winter. After enduring many hardships for three years in this region, they decided to return to Ohio. Since the trek was undertaken late in the fall, winter overtook them when they reached Indiana Territory, Approximately six miles north of Princeton they found an empty log cabin in which to live for the winter. In 1814, Aaron purchased land in the vicinity of Washington in Daviess County, and the family took up their permanent residence in the Hoosier State.

offered him a third interest in the business. Goodwin now became a partner and continued as a member of the firm until 1840. During all these years Elijah continued to preach, but never received a stipend for this service. In the forties he devoted all his time to the ministry, and in 1847 he moved to Bloomington. The Christian church of Mount Vernon claimed him as their first pastor.[5] Goodwin had laid a solid foundation upon which future ministers were able to build.

As the population of Mount Vernon increased, this town on the Ohio River was brought to the attention of the American Home Missionary Society. Calvin Butler, a representative of this organization in southern Indiana, wrote in 1830 to Absalom Peters in New York that Mount Vernon was "a growing little town on the Ohio R[iver] . . . surrounded by an excellent country of land, quite thickly settled." Butler requested in this letter and one written on October 2 that "one faithful ambassador" be stationed here. Reverend Fairfield, a Baptist from Troy, Ohio, who visited this village, "was violently opposed, and the audience which he addressed very abruptly and irreverently left the house without being dismissed; even entertainment was refused to him at one of the public houses."[6] This incident illustrates that the people apparently had their own ideas as to what they expected from the preacher.

Lewis Pennell, a Presbyterian clergyman, was the first member of the American Home Missionary Society to take up residence in Posey County and this was by accident. Being unable "to ascend the Mississippi," he was "thrown into this place [Mount Vernon]" in December of 1836, where he planned to remain for three months. He remarked that there were a few Cumberland Presbyterians and a few Covenanters who had "had occasional visits from their respective ministers." It was "a new thing in this County to have the gospel preached by an *educated* minister." Pennell was also of the opinion that it would be "best to proceed with great caution" in order to "lay the foundation for future movements of more ostensible importance." He related

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[5] Mathes, *Life of Elijah Goodwin*, 17-20, 66, 91, 116, 127-33, 156, 200; Leffel, *History of Posey County*, 133.

[6] American Home Missionary Society Papers, Indiana. These papers are in the Hammond Library, Chicago Theological Seminary. Calvin Butler, Princeton, Indiana, to Absalom Peters, New York, August 14, October 2, 1830, and February 14, 1831.

that because the distillation of whisky was a source of great wealth in Posey County the use of strong drink was still the "besetting sin." This clergyman also worried because the Catholic school at Morganfield, Kentucky, was full and overflowing with Protestant girls for want of Protestant schools, and during his short sojourn hoped to establish a high school for girls in Mount Vernon.[7]

The Baptists, Methodists, and Unitarians furnished considerable competition for this educated Presbyterian missionary. Yet, in March of 1837, he organized a church of his denomination, consisting of seven members. He maintained that there was greater opposition to him and to the benevolent society of the country by the Baptists of Posey County than from any other people. After spending a year in this region, Pennell regarded it as an uninviting and an unpromising field, because most of the people were not interested in ministers of any denomination. In his report of November 30, however, he stated that the membership of his little church had increased from seven to nine. Since he could find no adequate means of support, he left Mount Vernon.[8] Although it appeared to him that little had been accomplished during his stay in this southern Indiana village, Presbyterianism took root because of his efforts.

Four years later, J. R. Barnes, another member of the American Home Missionary Society, stationed in Evansville, reported that the small church in the pleasant town of Mount Vernon on the Ohio River needed the fostering care, sympathies, and labors of someone. In the forties John A. Tiffany looked after the spiritual welfare of the Presbyterians in this little village.[9] The seed which was planted by Pennell germinated and was nurtured by those who followed and developed into a congregation which has contributed to the community life of Mount Vernon.

While the American Home Missionary Society sent its representatives westward, another association founded in 1840 in Missouri as the *Kirchenverein* expanded at first eastward, but on a much smaller scale and was interested only in the Germans

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[7] Lewis Pennell, Mount Vernon, Indiana, to Absalom Peters, New York, December 27, 1836, and March 6, 1837, AHMSP.

[8] *Ibid.*, April 1, May 29, and November 30, 1837.

[9] J. R. Barnes, Evansville, Indiana, to American Home Missionary Society, New York, February 17, 1841; Calvin Butler, Boonville, Indiana, to Milton Badger, New York, October 22, 1837, AHMSP.

during these early years. The most prominent of the latter society's influence was in Missouri, where fourteen of its twenty-seven pastors were located. Another significant territory of the society fell within the boundary lines of Illinois. The third field was Indiana, particularly the southwestern part of the state.[10] Such names as Elberfeld, Westphalia, Haubstadt, Darmstadt, and Lippe leave no doubt in the minds of the people in the modern age as to the nativity of the pioneers of these communities.

Inasmuch as Lippe[11] is a settlement in Posey County which consists of only a church that was among the first German congregations to be served by a *Kirchenverein* pastor supported by the American Home Missionary Society, a statement should be inserted about this place in Robinson Township. The community was founded in 1836 when many German immigrants settled there and named it to honor the region of the fatherland from which they had departed. Yet, not until the elapse of eight years did these aliens organize a church. Finally, in 1845 a clapboard log church was erected and four years later the first representative from the *Kirchenverein,* Ludwig Austmann,[12] arrived to serve this congregation. Before he came to this settlement, the organizers of the church had been privileged to hear but one sermon in six weeks. Willing hearts but somewhat flattened pocketbooks of only twenty or twenty-five members could not support a minister. Interestingly enough, the American Home Missionary Society did not confine its efforts to establishing Presbyterian or Congregational churches, but was also vitally concerned about the Germans who settled in southwestern Indiana and regarded assistance at Lippe as a good investment. Therefore, financial aid was directed to this congregation after the arrival of Austmann. The society must have been convinced that this was a

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[10] Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier,* 164-84.

[11] Lippe was referred to as Tersteegen in the American Home Missionary Society Papers.

[12] At the time of the 1850 Census, Ludwig Austmann was thirty-three years old; his wife, Caroline, thirty-six. They were the parents of three children, Ludwig, seven; Caroline, five; and Paulus, three. Every member of this family had been born in Germany. This pioneer minister died on October 9, 1897. The obituary appeared in *Der Friedensbote,* December 12, 1897.

worthy undertaking; for as soon as regular services came to be held, the attendance averaged about seventy persons.[13]

Another *Kirchenverein* congregation in Posey County was approximately eight miles from Evansville, located in the hilly region near the Ohio River known at Black Hawk Mills. At the time of its establishment in 1848, it consisted of twelve families and was given the name of "Salem." Henry Toelke, a Westphalian, living in Evansville, preached every Sunday afternoon for this congregation until Austmann arrived at Lippe. Toelke received also a subsidy from the American Home Missionary Society. Upon the arrival of Austmann, Toelke was able to direct his efforts towards another region. Austmann conducted services for the Salem church every two weeks on Sunday afternoon and in 1850 formally organized this congregation.[14]

Each early pioneer minister supplied a number of churches in the hope that the remuneration might be sufficient for subsistence. Then, if misfortune descended upon him, an additional source of income had to be sought. On February 6, 1851, the house the Austmanns were living in burned, and with it the entire contents. It is probable that this disaster directed Austmann's attention to the necessity of increasing this exceedingly small income. Since he makes no mention of preaching to Germans at Mount Vernon before March of that year, he may have undertaken this additional work to supplement his stipened. When the weather permitted, Austmann bounced over twelve miles of rough and dusty roads; during wet weather he occasionally mired down in the mud on his way to the Ohio River town every two weeks to preach to his countrymen there. The services which were held in private homes on Sunday afternoons were at first attended by six, then increased to ten. In writing about the little flock at Mount Vernon in September he stated that some had become serious and often cried bitterly during the sermon. The records do not reveal how long he continued to pay visits to the county seat to preach to his follow countrymen, but

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[13] Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier*, 186-87; Committee of the German Evangelical Zion's Church at Tersteegen to American Home Missionary Society, June 22, 1850.

[14] Henry Toelke, Evansville, Indiana, to Milton Badger, New York, June 9, 1848, AHMSP; Ludwig Austmann, Posey County, Indiana, to the American Home Missionary Society, March 1, 1851.

by 1857 he had moved to Newburgh.[15] Disregarding the time element, Austmann paved the way for kingdom work among the Germans in Posey County.

By 1853, the small group who had listened to Austmann's sermons now numbered twelve families, and they were interested in perfecting some type of permanent organization. In that year, therefore, Henry Brinkman, Sr., Matthew Dietrich, Herman Dreier, Peter Espenschied, Herman Graule, Gottlieb Koerner, Charles Leunig, Henry Leunig, George Muegge, John Schneider, Henry Stein, and William L. Stritter founded what is now known as Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church. Before describing the work of this congregation, it seems most appropriate to pay honor to these men, many of whom operated their own business and yet had time to devote to their church. Biographical sketches will be given when possible.

Henry Brinkman, Sr., was born on May 16, 1825, in Lippe-Detmold, Germany. Until he was fourteen years of age he attended the schools of his native land. The following six years he spent in learning the brickmaker's trade, and during the next five years he attained proficiency in the wagon-making trade. Being of the opinion that America might offer greater opportunities to follow either trade, he sailed for the land of promise in 1850, coming directly to Indiana. After spending two months in Evansville, he decided to locate in Mount Vernon, where he was successful in obtaining employment in Gottlieb Koerner's wagon factory. Having taken great interest in the business, he was invited in 1852 to become a member of the firm. Between 1854 and 1861 he manufactured agricultural implements and wagons. During the last-named year, he made the "Brinkman Wagon." The high quality products which he placed on the market sold readily and it became necessary for him to expand his factory. Moreover, he invented the "Posey Clipper" plow which added considerably to his profits. In 1869, he opened a brick manufacturing plant and operated it until 1875, then converted the plant into a drain-tile factory. During the latter year, he and William Burtis entered the implement business under the firm name of Brinkman and Burtis. When Burtis retired in 1881, the name

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[15] Austmann to American Home Missionary Society, March 1, September 1, 1851; German Evangelical Zion's Church, Newburgh, Indiana, to American Home Missionary Society, February 25, 1857.

was changed to Brinkman and Sons. It is apparent that Brinkman never intended to return to the fatherland; for on September 7, 1852, he began proceedings to become a naturalized citizen. Twelve years, however, elapsed before he became a full-fledged American subject.

On October 28, 1852, he married Anne Margaret Hahn, a daughter of Henry Hahn and a native of Hessen-Darmstadt, where she was born on May 26, 1834. This union was blessed with ten children: Minnie, who married John C. Leffel; Henry A.; Mollie; Charles; Caroline, who married Fred Walter; Louis; Anna, who married Meade Williams; Otto; Matilda, who married William A. Holton; and Hattie, who married William O. Wilson. Mrs. Brinkman died on September 8, 1893. Twenty-nine years later, on June 1, 1922, Brinkman followed his companion.[16] In the 1860 census under the Henry Brinkman dwelling were also listed Adolph and Fredericka Brinkman, seventy and sixty-five years of age respectively. These may have been the parents of Henry, since both were born in Germany.

The only information available on Matthew Dietrich has been gleaned from the 1860 census. At that time he was thirty years of age, born in Bavaria, and a cooper by trade. The name of his wife was Catherine, twenty-six years of age, and born in Baden. No children were listed.

Even less material could be located on Herman Dreier. On October 28, 1852, he chose Margaret Schnur as his life companion.[17] According to the Deed Record U, he purchased real estate on January 17, 1856. On another page of this volume, in connection with a real estate transaction, his wife, Margaret, is mentioned. His name, however, does not appear in the 1860 census.

Peter Espenschied was born on December 11, 1823, at Mainz, Germany, and died on October 8, 1904. Among other information recorded in the church register at the time of his death, was

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[16] *Unser Mitarbeiter*, June, 1903. This paper began publication in 1900 and was issued each month for members of the congregation. Original Returns of the Seventh United States Census, 1850, Posey County, Indiana; Original Returns of the Eighth United States Census, 1860, Posey County, Indiana; Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church Register, Mount Vernon, Indiana, 273; Leffel, *History of Posey County*, 315-17; Naturalization Record, 1855-1906, Posey County, Indiana, 53; *Western Star*, September 14, 1893.

[17] Marriage Record, III, 1846-1857, Posey County, Indiana, 352.

the note: "Er war einer der Gründer der Dreifaltigkeits Gemeinde." Family reports claim that Peter became involved in the German political revolution of 1848, and consequently sought the land where liberty was possible. It is questionable, however, whether this is true, since other members of this clan who left the same locality at approximately the same time for America did so largely because of economic conditions. At any rate, Peter, a butcher by trade, arrived in New York between 1848 and 1849 with only thirty cents in his pocket. This small sum did not deter him from continuing his journey into the interior. He must have been impressed with this land of opportunity and determined to remain here, for when he reached Cincinnati he took out his first naturalization papers. While in the Queen City, he became a victim of the California Gold Rush fever and started for the Far West in the hope that he might greatly enlarge his depleted funds. He made the journey in a ship around Cape Horn in one hundred and twelve days. After six years on the Pacific Coast, he returned with a belt full of the precious metal valued at several thousand dollars. During the return voyage many of the passengers became seasick and Peter resolved to discard the heavy belt if the vessel should sink.

Upon the return of this adventurer from California, he discovered that his brothers, sisters, and father had transplanted themselves on Indiana soil at Evansville. In all likelihood the father and sisters followed an all water-route, coming by way of New Orleans and up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. Peter joined his family, but soon removed to Mount Vernon where he entered the sawmill business. While here romance overpowered him, and on March 12, 1857, he married Catherine Schnarr, a native of Pennsylvania and of German parentage.

Espenschied, however, was afflicted with the *Wanderlust,* so he took his bride to the wide open spaces of Kansas. Neither the exact route which the young couple followed nor the conveyance which they used is known. They settled on the west bank of the Missouri River at Fort Leavenworth. During their twenty years in the Sunflower State, Peter pursued the butcher's trade. While in this frontier cattle country five children were born to this couple: Elizabeth; Mary, who married Conrad Meinschein; Rosa; Lilly; and William, who married Katherine Gonnermann. In the dust bowl state the traveler's funds di-

minished until the cupboard was bare. This loss he attributed to the fact that the early railroads by-passed Leavenworth. Vivid recollections of his find in California now induced him to participate in another gold rush in order to recover some of his fortune. Fate, however, prevented luck from accompanying Peter. Consequently in 1878, he and his family returned to the Hoosier State, and two years later a sixth child was born, Peter, who married Flossie Crowder. For six months they lived in Marrs Township and then removed to Mount Vernon where the father operated a saloon and grocery store.[18] Descendants of this family are still in Posey County.

Inasmuch as the spelling of the German names became a real handicap to the county officials, they were at times recorded almost beyond recognition. The only reference in the county books to another early founder of Trinity, Herman Graule, was in Deed Record Book T and V where the name is spelled Craul and Crauel. On April 1, 1853, and again on December 18, 1856, Herman was mentioned in connection with real estate transactions. The church publication stated that he lived on the south side of Third Street between Main and Walnut streets in 1853. Since the pastor of Trinity performed the marriage ceremony for Joseph Graul and Caroline Stine on December 14, 1867,[19] one might assume that Joseph was a son of Herman. Because the name does not appear on the census records, it is possible that either the family was not at home when the census taker called or that the name is misspelled to such an extent as to be indecipherable.

Of the twelve founders, Gottlieb Koerner had probably settled in Mount Vernon earlier than any of the other men. His oldest child, Mary, was born in 1842 in Indiana. Koerner must have had some surplus funds, for in 1843 he purchased property. Gottlieb was born in Württemberg in 1814 and followed the wagon-making trade. Catharine, his wife, was born in Baden in 1822. At the time of the 1860 census they were the parents of seven children: Mary, John, Caroline, Rebecca, Wilhelmina,

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[18] Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church Register, 358; Lloyd Espenschied, *Espenschied and Related Families of Evansville and Mt. Vernon, Indiana* (Kew Gardens, New York, 1945), 8-9, 11, 12, 14; Marriage Record, IV, 1857-1863, Posey County, Indiana, 7.

[19] Marriage Record, V, 1863-1868, Posey County, Indiana, 544; *Unser Mitarbeiter,* June, 1903.

Lawrence, and William T., all born in Indiana.[20] The descendants of this family all follow the path which leads to Trinity. When Brinkman arrived in Mount Vernon, Koerner was operating a flourishing wagon factory.

Charles Leunig, a grocer, was born in 1827 in Hanover, and his wife, Catharine, was a Bavarian, born in 1832. Their first residence in Indiana must have been of short duration, because the first child, Bertha, was born in 1855 in St. Louis, Missouri. The following year, however, they were back in the Hoosier State and Caroline was born. In 1858 the third child, Mary, made her entrance into the world. August Leunig was living with Charles in 1860 and it is likely he was an older brother. A carpenter by trade, August was born on June 16, 1825, in Hanover, and died on September 22, 1881, in Mount Vernon. The eldest daughter of Charles and Catharine married Andrew Wasem, a Bavarian. Andrew clerked in the Leunig grocery and at a later date became a partner in the Wasem grocery. Charles Leunig removed to Belleville, Illinois, where he died on February 12, 1876.[21]

Another Hanoverian, Henry Leunig, may have been the elder brother of August and Charles. Henry was born in 1820, and his wife, Emma, also a Hanoverian, was born in 1816. Their two children, Bertha A., born in 1848, and John, born in 1850, were natives of Ohio. If a man's real estate holdings may be used as a yardstick to measure his financial status, Henry was very well situated in 1860. One may also assume that he was the senior member of the Leunig grocery. This prosperous businessman also chose to remove to Belleville, Illinois, but occasionally returned to Mount Vernon for visits.[22] Newspaper accounts indicate that the Leunig brothers took an active interest in civic affairs.

George Muegge, another Hanoverian, was born in 1826. His wife, Louise, was born in Württemberg in 1838. In 1860 their two children were Mary, four, and Caroline, two, both natives of

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[20] Deed Record Book L, Posey County, Indiana; Original Returns of the Seventh United States Census, 1850; Original Returns of the Eighth United States Census, 1860.

[21] Original Returns of the Eighth United States Census, 1860; Goodspeed, *History of Posey County*, 539; *Wochenblatt*, February 19, 1876.

[22] Original Returns of the Eighth United States Census, 1860; *Western Star*, August 12, 1880; Will Record I, 1852-1875, Posey County, Indiana, 187-88.

Indiana. George was a distiller and had acquired some property by 1860.[23] In all probability he removed from Mount Vernon, as neither his death nor that of any member of his family is recorded in the church register.

The man who played an important role in the construction work of the first church building completed in 1857 was John Schneider, a young twenty-eight-year-old carpenter from Hessen-Cassel. His wife, Louise, born in 1831, was a native of Hanover. By 1860, this union had been blessed with three children—John, three; Lizzie, two; and Conrad, six months—all born in Indiana.[24] The members of this family are still well represented at Trinity.

From the marriage record, it is apparent the John Stein family had a son Henry, who may have been one of the founders of Trinity, and two daughters, Mary and Catharine, who chose their life companions in 1853. Henry's choice was Catherine Baker. They were joined in holy wedlock on April 7 by Heinrich Bock, a minister of the gospel.[25] This pastor may have supplied the pulpit of another denomination in Mount Vernon. On November 9, Henry purchased property. Since the Stein family was not listed in either the 1850 or 1860 census, no further information could be obtained.

Last but not least among these religious-minded men was William L. Stritter. William was born on June 18, 1817, in Hessen-Darmstadt, and died in Mount Vernon on August 14, 1882. His wife, Louise, two years his junior, was also a native of Hessen-Darmstadt. A son, Frederick, was born in 1849 in the same locality as his parents. Eliza was born in Pennsylvania in 1851. By 1852 this family had settled in Mount Vernon where the head of the household operated a barber shop on Main Street between First and Second streets. On October 11 of that year, William took the first steps toward becoming a naturalized citizen. In the seventies he was actively engaged in civic affairs and served as an assessor.[26] He became a loyal citizen of his adopted country.

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[23] Original Returns of the Eighth United States Census, 1860.

[24] *Ibid.; Unser Mitarbeiter*, June, 1903.

[25] Marriage Record, III, 1846-1857, Posey County, Indiana, 378; Will Record, I, 1852-1875, Posey County, Indiana, 399; Deed Record T, 564-65.

[26] Original Returns of the Eighth United States Census, 1860; Naturalization Record, 1855-1906, Posey County, Indiana, 4; *Western Star*, August 17, 25, 31, 1882.

Having noted such information about the twelve founders of Trinity as has been found, one may now review what happened to this church between 1853 and 1953. Mention has already been made of other denominations which began their missionary work in Posey County at an early date. None of the churches which had been established in Mount Vernon during the early years, however, were of the German Evangelical faith. Ten years previously, a German Methodist church had been organized by twelve members. As early as 1840, E. J. Durbin, a priest from Kentucky, occasionally visited the county's Catholics, some of whom were Germans; but not until 1851 did a priest, Roman Weinzoepfel, pay regular visits to Mount Vernon. Seven years later the Roman Catholic church was dedicated.[27] Thus at an early date Mount Vernon was well supplied with missionaries or resident pastors. Clearly, religious-minded inhabitants preferred to worship in the faith in which they had been brought up, hence the abundance of churches which came eventually to this Indiana town.

Those Germans who were responsible for organizing Trinity were bound together by the faith which they had brought to the American wilderness from the fatherland. At first their numbers were small, but year after year others arrived, until in 1853 this little band decided to form a church. They extended an invitation to John F. Grassow, who in 1840 with six other men trained by Gossner of Berlin, were sent to America. Grassow settled in Pennsylvania at that time but was soon directed by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to F. Schmidt, the editor of the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung,* who assigned him to Evansville. This young missionary soon organized a number of churches in Vanderburgh and Posey counties. When Trinity came into being he was stationed in Marrs Township, and probably for that reason accepted the call to shepherd this small congregation. He was assisted by Henry Brinkman, Charles Leunig, and William L. Stritter, who were the first trustees. Services were conducted in the Herman Graule home on Third Street which later became the site for the Kahn Hotel. As the German population increased, the number of church members also grew until the home was too small to accommodate the worshipers. Consequently, the

[27] Leffel, *History of Posey County,* 134, 136.

desire to have a permanent and beautiful church edifice gained momentum. In 1855 at a congregational meeting, therefore, it was resolved to construct a house of worship.

The contract for the building was given to Henry Brinkman, one of the members. He, in co-operation with another member, John Schneider, a carpenter, constructed the new edifice at what is now 513 Mulberry Street, which was completed in 1857 at a cost of eight hundred dollars. Now it was apparent the church needed the services of a full-time minister. Accordingly, a call was extended to F. H. W. Schmitz who accepted the invitation and at an early date took up his duties with Trinity. On June 28, the gray frame church was formally dedicated and a joyous celebration took place. Schmitz apparently foresaw the importance of the children in a congregation and has been credited with beginning the Sunday school. Inasmuch as no definite teaching material was available, the first teachers, August W. Neuman, and George Appel, taught the children the German alphabet and told them Bible stories. Other pioneer Sunday school teachers at Trinity were Oscar Schultz, Fritz Stritter, Henry Kisner, and Mrs. William Lichtenberger. Schmitz, however, accomplished very little, for in the fall he severed his connections with this congregation.

John F. Grassow was again solicited to guide Trinity, this time during a period when the nation at large faced many problems—which were not solved but climaxed in a war between the states. This was a difficult period, especially since there was a difference of opinion among the people of Posey County with respect to the strife in which the country was engaged. The county as such supported the cause of the Union, but the Knights of the Golden Circle and similar organizations scattered their seeds in the hope that they might take root. In the adjacent state of Kentucky, guerrilla parties were plundering the inhabitants and committing a multitude of crimes which caused much restlessness among the Hoosiers across the river. During the spring of 1863, in particular, the inhabitants of Mount Vernon lived in a state of perpetual fear.

Such strenuous years may have been responsible for Grassow's resignation in 1864. He apparently was held in high esteem, for on August 15, 1880, while living in Indianapolis, he came to Mount Vernon to preach; and since there was a vacancy,

the local papers announced he might be extended a call.[28] Whether he was invited to return is not known.

For three years, from 1864 to 1867, the congregation struggled along without a resident minister. In the spring of 1864, Henry F. Hoefer, then the pastor of Zion Evangelical Church at Lippe, conducted services until 1866, at which time he accepted the charge at Freeport, Illinois. Hoefer was born at Lippe-Detmold, Germany, on September 25, 1836, and came to Marthasville, Missouri, in 1854. Four years later he began his work at Zion's Church at Lippe where he remained until 1866. After three years at St. John's Church at Freeport, Illinois, he accepted a call from St. John's Church at Concordia, Missouri, where he remained until 1877. In that year Hoefer removed to Higginsville, Missouri, where he filled the pulpit of Salem Church until 1901. On July 15, 1859, he had married Wilhelmine Schneider of Holstein, Missouri, who died on May 6, 1908. Three months later on August 21, he answered the final summons. He also held the honorary positions of treasurer and vice-president of the seventh district.[29] His interest in the church extended beyond the local level.

In 1867, Rudolf Luescher became the pastor of Trinity. There is only one entry in the church register made by this minister. This was on April 28 of the above year. Little is known about Luescher. He remained only one year, for on June 1, 1868, Carl Doerner was in Mount Vernon. The latter made his final entry on September 7. By November 18, A. Bauer was supplying the pulpit and his signature appeared for the last time in the church register on August 2, 1870. He was followed by J. Burkhart (Burkhardt) who made his first official note on August 27, 1871. For two years he labored successfully in Mount Vernon and won many friends. Two entries were made by R. Koestlin in 1873—one on October 5 and the other on November 16.[30] Unfortunately, it has not been possible to obtain any more information

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[28] Schneider, *German Church on the American Frontier,* 185-87; *Unser Mitarbeiter,* June, 1903; *Seventieth Jubilee Souvenir Edition of the Trinity Evangelical Booster, Sunday, December 9, 1923;* Goodspeed, *History of Posey County,* 453; *Wochenblatt,* August 20, 1880; *Western Star,* August 19, 1880.

[29] *Der Friedensbote,* September 13, 1908; *Messenger of Peace,* September 13, 1908; *Unser Mitarbeiter,* June, 1903.

[30] Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church Register, 7, 8-9, 13, 22-26; *Unser Mitarbeiter,* June, 1903.

on the ministers between 1867 and 1873 than that which is given here.

It is questionable whether the congregation made any progress during the time when there were such frequent changes of ministers. In 1874, John C. Schneider, a musician and linguist of considerable ability, began his pastoral work at Mount Vernon. He was very active in civic affairs and also took an unusual interest in the program of the schools. Whether he exerted any influence in making possible the publication of a German newspaper in the town is not known, but on October 23, 1875, the first issue of the *Wochenblatt* was published. Six years later, on October 14, 1881, it met its demise. The second number of the new paper carried an account about a school Schneider conducted in which he taught German and English. He was also desirous of giving private instruction in French and Latin. The *Wochenblatt* claimed he was an able schoolteacher. In the local paper on January 15, 1876, appeared a scholarly article from his pen on the German language. Moreover, Schneider may have been the principal agitator for a German free school. Since only twenty pupils were in attendance during the 1875-1876 academic year, the question was raised why the number was so small. German citizens, therefore, were given an opportunity to voice their sentiments on the subject. During the seventies, musical organizations were very active in Mount Vernon. Schneider's love for music induced him to organize a double quartet club in 1877. Inasmuch as all the members had very good voices, the local paper expressed the hope that the group might produce some beautiful songs.[31] The pastor of Trinity may have been the hub and civic organizations the spokes of the wheel which operated so efficiently during the seventies.

Likewise, the congregation Schneider came to serve profited from the energy of this man. The Christmas program of the Sunday school for the children in 1875 was regarded as an important event in the community. Choir and children performed so well and produced an atmosphere so reverent that no pine needle could fall on the floor without being heard. The climax of the day came when the gifts which had been used to decorate

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[31] Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church Register, 27-40; *Unser Mitarbeiter*, June, 1903; *Wochenblatt*, October 23, 30, 1875; *ibid.*, January 15, June 10, 1876, and July 6, 1877.

the tree were distributed among the children. Probably the happy faces that evening served as an inducement to plan a picnic in Fuhrer's Grove on the first of May the following year for the children. In spite of the cool weather, a large crowd attended and the group kept itself amused until the late hours of the evening. The economically-minded were pleased because the treasury netted a profit of twenty-three dollars.

Under the administration of this talented man, the membership of the church increased so greatly as to make necessary a new edifice to accommodate the people. In December, 1879, the ladies of the church were beginning to make arrangements for a fair to be given in May to raise funds for the building program.[32] So the women may be credited with launching this financial campaign.

While plans and specifications for the new church were being made, the greatest tragedy in the history of Trinity occurred one June day in 1880. The minister of this congregation eloped with a young lady of one of Mount Vernon's most respected families. Such news rocked the inhabitants of the town and county with anger. Likewise, the newspapers produced headlines to catch any eye—"Meanest Man Ever Heard Of," "A Villain That Deserves Hanging," and "Wolf in Sheep's Clothing." The *Western Star* began its account: "Mt. Vernon and Posey County may be said to be the cradle of sensation; but the most startling that has come to the surface lately was the announcement . . . [about] Rev. J. C. Schneider . . . He was a fair preacher, well educated, and a very fair musician, and soon after locating here secured a position in our public schools as teacher of the German and Latin languages; was the teacher of the Mt. Vernon Liederkranz, and was receiving a liberal remuneration for all the work he did; and also had the respect and confidence of the entire community, and was to have been the editor of the German Demokrat paper about to be started."

Another local paper, the Mount Vernon *Demokrat,* in its first paragraph made an issue of the fact that Schneider had left "a wife and seven children in an almost destitute condition." The *Western Star* also made a point of this fact and declared "but as she has the sympathy of the entire community, she will not

[32] *Wochenblatt,* January 1, May 6, 1876; *Western Star,* December 25, 1879; *Wochenblatt,* December 26, 1879.

want . . . . She and her destitute and innocent children have the sympathy of all, and every material aid will be granted them."

According to the *Wochenblatt,* which carried the first account of the incident, he took along seven hundred dollars. This paper also stated that Schneider had adopted at least four different Christian names. Some seventeen months later a local resident read an account in the New York *Staats-Zeitung* that Theodore Schneider of West Haven, Connecticut, a poor typesetter and good singer, who played the piano to perfection and was the master of three or four languages had committed suicide. The man had suffered considerably from "private diseases" and complained of sore feet.

The account continued by reiterating that he was a Bavarian born in Bayreuth, had married a young ballet girl from New York, who had died the past winter. Then, too, he had played the piano in houses of ill fame. The local resident sent a letter and picture of Schneider to the New York paper and received a reply from Charles F. Bollman, an attorney, stating that the picture did not resemble the dead man because the clergyman wore a beard and much better clothes while in Mount Vernon. Bollman, however, concluded his letter by remarking the "man in question is undoubtedly the man from your city."[33] This was indeed an unfortunate experience for Trinity. Nevertheless, such episodes have occurred in all professions and in all times, and will continue to happen so long as there are human beings on the earth.

A hiatus in the building program was reached because of the severe blow meted out to the church. The trustees now proceeded very cautiously in the choice of a new minister. A communication was addressed to the Evangelical Synod and with its assistance an invitation was extended to Charles C. Gebauer on October 17, 1880. This native of Germany, born in September, 1838, came highly recommended. Approximately five weeks after he accepted the invitation, the Gebauer family moved to Mount Vernon and on November 28, the new pastor preached his first sermon at Trinity. The announcement in the local German newspaper of his arrival extended a hearty welcome to

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[33] *Unser Mitarbeiter,* June, 1903; *Western Star,* June 24, 1880, December 1, 1881; Mount Vernon *Demokrat,* June 24, 1880; *Wochenblatt,* June 18 and 25, 1880.

the people of Mount Vernon to attend the services at Trinity. On December 4 confirmation classes were again resumed and on Sunday the fifth, the Sunday school began anew.[34]

Under the leadership of Gebauer, the congregation began to progress rapidly and on August 6, 1882, the matter of a new house of worship was discussed and a resolution to undertake this task was passed. On September 22 bids were received. Two months later an article in the local paper stated that "the German Lutheran church will probably be built on the site where the old church now stands, unless more suitable grounds can be purchased. The edifice will be the finest in the city 39 x 60, and the steeple 140 feet in height. The plans and specifications can be seen at the office of Dr. O. T. Schultz."[35]

Before construction work began, the present site was chosen. One account claimed the contract was awarded on October 29, but the local paper remarked it had been given on January 15, 1883. At any event both agree that Christian Reister of Haubstadt had been chosen as the contractor. John D. Dieterle[36] and John Pfeffer[37] underwrote the bond for Reister. As to the bid, one source placed the figure at $7,777, and the other at seven dollars lower. The agreement stipulated that the new edifice was to be completed by November 1, 1883.

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[34] *Unser Mitarbeiter*, June, 1903; Wochenblatt, November 26, December 3, 1880.

[35] Oscar T. Schultz sprang from a family whose members for three centuries had been either physicians or prominent officials in church or state in Silesia, Prussia. Oscar was born near Breslau on November 9, 1848. In 1853 the family came to New York and two years later removed to Evansville. He attended the public schools in Evansville and earned the medical degree from Hospital College of Medicine at Louisville. In 1875 he settled in Mount Vernon. The following year he married Louisa Pfeffer. Goodspeed, *History of Posey County*, 527.

[36] John D. Dieterle was born in Württemberg, Germany, on November 11, 1827. He received a good education in his native country and upon the death of his mother the fourteen-year-old lad learned the butcher's trade which he followed in Germany until 1851, when he embarked for America. In Buffalo and Louisville he pursued this trade and in 1855 settled in Mount Vernon to continue in the butchering business. In that year he married Anna M. Larch, a native of Baden, Germany. Thirteen children were born to this union. *Ibid.*, 489-90.

[37] John Pfeffer, Sr., was born on January 19, 1826, in Germany. At the age of seventeen, he left home to learn the butcher's trade. In 1849 he was married to Fredericka Gemehl, a native of Alsace. This year also marked their immigration to the United States, residing at first in Buffalo and Louisville until 1856, where he followed the butcher's trade. During that year he came to Mount Vernon and joined his fellow countryman in his trade. *Ibid.*, 518.

On May 27, a golden sun from a heavenly blue sky sent its rays upon a multitude of people who had come to witness the impressive service of laying the cornerstone. John Runk, the pastor of St. John's Church of Evansville, was in charge of the ceremonies and may have been a drawing card. A special excursion train from Evansville brought a delegation of approximately five hundred people who were escorted "by Smith's excellent band . . . to the church."

Upon the completion of the ceremonies, the people walked over to the courthouse grounds where the ladies of the church (in the basement of the new courthouse) served a delicious dinner, "of which the visitors and the public generally partook liberally." About five o'clock the Evansville guests marched back to the depot to board the special train for home.[38] Such a happy day must have lingered long in the hearts of the members of Trinity, even in the thoughts of the tired ladies.

The pastor apparently was so pleased with the performance of the women at the cornerstone laying that he took advantage of the opportunity to organize the Ladies Aid sometime during the last week in May; for on the thirty-first, the *Western Star* carried an item about this organization and listed the officers, who were Mrs. Charles C. Gebauer, president; Mrs. John D. Dieterle, vice-president; Mrs. Oscar T. Schultz, secretary; and Mrs. Charles Wasem,[39] treasurer. The church paper in 1903 gave the date as June 1, which date is apparently an error.

In this eventful year of 1883, it also became evident that the constitution had outlived its usefulness. Hence, on March 4, 1883, a committee was appointed to delete and insert items in order to meet the needs of the day. After spending five months in revising this document, the committee completed its work on August 1.

Those who had been walking down Fifth Street to admire the new structure that was being reared were disappointed that the work progressed rather slowly. In August an announcement was made that the delay encountered in erecting the new church

[38] *Western Star*, November 2, 1882; January 18, May 31, 1883; *Unser Mitarbeiter*, June, 1903.

[39] Louisa Pretoreus, a native of Germany, married Charles Wasem. He was born in Bavaria on June 14, 1836. At the age of twenty-two he left for America, and in 1859 came to Mount Vernon to become a clerk in a grocery. He became a very successful businessman. Goodspeed, *History of Posey County*, 538.

was "occasioned by the scarcity of brick, and not the fault of the contractor."

In October, another event of the year was a fair to add to the funds for the new church. On the afternoon of the sixteenth of that month the Mount Vernon Brass Band properly inaugurated the occasion by marching through the town playing inspiring music and then proceeding to the Masonic Hall where the celebration was taking place. These fairs must have been annual events to increase the sum in the treasury. There were no records available to indicate how successful the undertaking was from a financial point of view, but socially it had met a need.

The next projected highlight failed to greet the eager congregation in November when the new edifice was to have been completed. Because of unforeseen circumstances, the contractor did not turn over the eighty-five hundred dollar building to the committee until January 21, 1884. It was estimated that the fixtures on the inside would amount to fifteen hundred dollars, making the total cost of the church ten thousand dollars. Finally on March 9, the congregation moved into its new home and celebrated the occasion with great festivities.[40] A careful search has failed to uncover a program of this event.

Two years later, on May 6, 1886, the ladies of the congregation again came into the foreground when they presented their pastor with a handsome gold-headed cane. This act demonstrated the high esteem in which Gebauer was held by the members of his congregation. Later that month he reported at the district meeting that the congregation had invested in a new bell weighing twelve hundred pounds. This was an important item for the German church and very definitely distinguished it from the American meeting house. "The German soul was stirred by nothing so much as by the little rural churches, located on hills and knolls, from whence the peal of bells sounded through the valleys and over meadows." In some communities the bells were rung every morning and evening during the week. On Sundays the bells were rung in irreligious communities in the hope to "rouse the conscience of Sabbath profaners and infidels." It is questionable whether the members of Trinity had any

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[40] *Western Star*, August 9, October 18, 1883, January 24, 1884; *Unser Mitarbeiter*, June, 1903.

other reason for installing their bell than to call the worshipers to a service.

Gebauer had instituted numerous innovations small and large, and the bell no doubt was a constant reminder that when it rang the faithful shepherd had a message for his flock. Likewise, he was always happy when it was possible to report on the good works of his parishioners at the district meeting. Such a pleasure was again accorded to him in 1888, at which time he announced that the Ladies Aid had paid one hundred and twenty-nine dollars towards the seven-hundred-dollar church indebtedness.[41]

After nine years of loyal and consecrated service, however, he saw fit to submit his resignation. Upon the receipt of this news a dark cloud hovered over the membership of Trinity. The following resolutions were adopted on March 31, 1889: "Inasmuch as the Trinity Evangelical Church is highly indebted to its present pastor, Rev. C. C. Gebauer: 1) For his foresight and care of the congregation during its critical times; 2) For his sacrificial labors in behalf of the congregation in the erection of the fine church, and for his efforts in preparing a strong constitution to which he gave his best talents; and 3) For his ability to unite into one the various elements of which our congregation has been composed—Therefore, be it resolved: That the congregation expresses its sincerest thanks to its Pastor who brings his nine year ministry to a close, and that a copy of these resolutions be recorded in its minutes." These words leave no doubt as to the high regard in which the pastor was held. A sad congregation, therefore, bade farewell to the Gebauer family when they left Mount Vernon on April 2, 1889, for their future home in Sunman, Ripley County, Indiana.[42] Later Gebauer removed to Cleveland, Ohio, where he died on November 24, 1925. Many of the older members still speak highly of this minister.

Two months after Gebauer left, Karl Wiegmann moved from Elberfeld to Mount Vernon. The new pastor was born on September 29, 1850, in Hamm, Westphalia, Germany. At the age of sixteen this son of a doctor immigrated to Cincinnati and entered

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[41] *Western Star*, May 6, 1886; *Protokoll der Zwölften Jahres Conferenz . . .* 1886, p. 23; *Protokoll der Zweiten Jahres-Konferenz des Indiana-Distrikts . . .* 1888, p. 22.

[42] *Western Star*, April 4, 1889; *Unser Mitarbeiter*, June, 1903.

the new teachers' seminary. In 1873 he filled the position of *Hausvater* at the Uhlich Orphans' Home at Chicago. After two years in this post, he matriculated at the theological seminary and in 1877 accepted his first charge at St. John's Church, Springfield, Missouri. He paid a visit to Germany in 1879 and upon his return the following year, he continued his ministerial work at Rockport, Indiana. On May 22, 1882, he married Katharina M. Eigenmann. Five years later he removed to Elberfeld, where he remained until his coming to Mount Vernon.

Approximately a year after his arrival at Trinity, Mrs. Lorenz Hempfling gave a church benefit supper on May 16, 1890, on the third floor of her residence. For this a charge of twenty-five cents per person was made. In order to draw as large a crowd as possible, music and various types of entertainment were announced as an inducement to attract the young people. No other social functions were listed in the records while Wiegmann served Trinity.

At the time of the district conference in 1889, he announced that Trinity was actively engaged in obtaining an organ, but not until 1895 could he report that the congregation had been successful in its undertaking. In many German churches this instrument was the most important acquisition. In the latter year Wiegmann also disclosed that he had been serving St. Paul's Church at Hovey since the middle of 1894 because this church had been for seven years without a minister. According to Posey County Deed Record, 32, Lot 128, at the corner of Sixth and Walnut streets, was purchased in 1895, the site of the present parsonage.

The seven years of Wiegmann's faithful service were terminated at Mount Vernon in 1896. His last entry in the church register was made on July 6 of that year. After leaving this charge, he supplied the pulpits of two other churches: Floraville and Hecker, Illinois. While in Indiana he had held the honorary position of secretary of this district in 1894. His earthly career ended on June 18,1924.[43] He was a worthy successor to Gebauer.

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[43] *Der Friedensbote*, July 13, 1924; Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church Register, 71-86, 210; *Western Star*, May 8, 1890; *Protokoll der dritten Jahres-Konferenz des Indiana Distrikts . . .* 1889, p. 20; *Protokoll der 8 Jahresconferenz des Indiana Distrikts . . .* 1894, p. 16; *Protokoll der neunten Jahres-Konferenz des Indiana Distrikts . . .* 1895, p. 20.

The congregation was without a resident minister for only a short time; for on August 16, 1896, J. Bruse recorded his first entry in the church register. Three days earlier, the local paper had carried an account of an ice cream festival to be held that evening on the William Gonnermann lawn, sponsored by the ladies of Trinity. To this all friends of the church were invited. No other church social items appeared in the local paper while Bruse was the pastor of this church.

At the yearly meeting of the congregation on August 6, 1898, after the regular routine business had been conducted, several other matters came up for discussion. Among these was a report which dealt with church problems. It stated that the congregation had become so dissatisfied with Bruse's work in 1898 that they had lowered his salary to five hundred dollars a year. When this action reached the pastor's ears, he sent in his letter of resignation, dated November 1. His resignation was accepted and he was given permission to leave immediately. His name appeared for the last time in the official church register on November 27. From Mount Vernon he went to Cannelton, Indiana.[44]

From the departure of Bruse until June 27, 1899, the congregation was without a minister. On March 5 of that year, William F. Mehl from Princeton occupied the pulpit of Trinity. He preached two sermons—one in the morning and another in the evening. Moreover, in the afternoon he conducted funeral services for Charles Nebe. The congregation was impressed with the manner in which he handled these services, especially since he preached equally well in both English and German. As a result, an attractive offer was made to him to fill the vacant pulpit. The account in the local paper reported that the salary he had been receiving in Princeton was doubled. On April 9, 1899, at a special meeting it was voted to invite the young minister from Princeton to pilot the ship for Trinity, at a salary of six hundred dollars. Three months later, July 9, he was installed in his new charge by his father. It was indeed fortunate that he accepted the call. Mehl was born in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on January 27, 1874. At the age of two his parents brought him

[44] Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church Register, 86-93; *Western Star*, August 13, 1896; *Protokoll der 13 Jahreskonferenz des Indiana-Distrikts . . .* 1899.

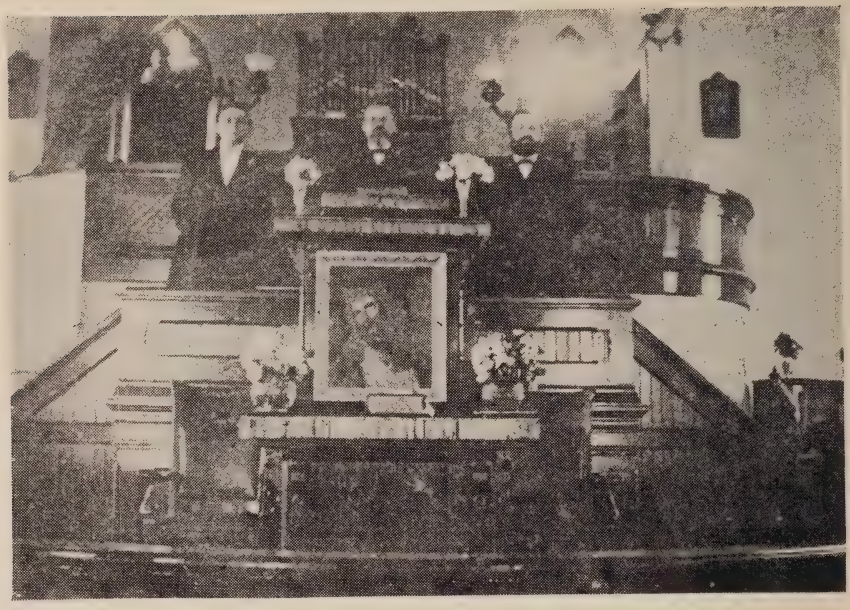


August E. Binder, Pastor since Jan. 15, 1945



Designed by Paul A. Wehr

CHURCH INTERIORS



Former Church Interior, 1902



Present Church Interior

to the United States. Here he completed his formal education, which included graduation from Elmhurst College and Eden Theological Seminary. In 1895 he was ordained at Boonville, Indiana. His first charge was at Princeton and from there he came to Mount Vernon.[45] With the coming of this young minister a new era was ushered in at the latter place.

After only a month in his new charge the pastor was highly praised and in the annual report of August 6, 1899, mention was made of how well he was liked by the members and it was hoped that in the near future peaceful relations would again exist among the membership. Moreover, the wish was expressed that the attendance on Sundays would increase because the choir added to the beauty of the service, and the pastor preached such good sermons. Another item in the yearly memorandum was a request from the janitor for an increase in his salary. An increase of five dollars was granted.

It is apparent that as early as 1899, there had been some agitation for an English service. A motion was made to permit the pastor to hold English services on Sunday evenings. In the discussion which followed it was pointed out that according to the constitution such a motion was out of order.

Among the first organizations formed under the Mehl administration was the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor. According to the minutes it was organized on August 13, 1899. Those who undertook to steer the new society were Hattie Hironimus, president; Lena Hierstein, vice-president; Julia Wentz, secretary; and Ralph Kuebler, treasurer.[46] Apparently these young people were very ambitious, since ten committees were announced. The smaller groups met during the week and on Sundays the entire membership assembled to conduct more formal business. In that first year they undertook tasks which have become distinctly identified with the young people. The

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[45] *Messenger*, October 1, 1936; *Unser Mitarbeiter*, June, 1903; *Western Star*, March 9, 1899; Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church Minutes, August 6, 1899.

[46] The twenty-eight charter members were: Philippina Bonenberger; Carl and Henry Dexheimer; Louisa Dietz; Dora Goerlich; Lena Gonnermann; Bertha Hagemann; Emily and Lena Hierstein; Hattie, John, and Tillie Hironimous; Bertha and Lottie Koerner; Lulu and Oscar Kreie; Ralph Kuebler; William Maurer; Frieda and Lottie Nebe; William Peters; Karl Richter, Nannie Schnabel; Bertha and Edith Uhde; Clarence and Julia Wentz; and Tillie Wulff.

latter part of August they sponsored an ice cream social, and when the Christmas season approached, they undertook the responsibility of decorating the tree.

A reference in the minutes is made to the Senior Endeavor, but to date no papers pertaining to this organization have been located. The society formed on August 13 was the Junior Endeavor, with the dues collected ranging between eleven and fifteen cents per Sunday. Why the amount varied is not indicated. On April 2, 1900, they voted to contribute twenty dollars for hymn books which contained both German and English songs for use of the Sunday school and the society. At an early date (February 17, 1901) the young people performed a real Christian duty by attending services at the county asylum. Two months later they met to reorganize. At that time a constitution and pledge[47] were adopted which were subscribed to by thirty-four members. This is puzzling since there is nothing to indicate that at any time between 1899 and 1901 the society was inactive. During 1902 collections varying from a penny to six cents were noted. At the time of the fiftieth jubilee there were forty-five members and they supported an orphan in India.[48] From year to year this organization was actively engaged in worthwhile projects.

The most important item of business on October 16, 1899, pertained to a first mortgage on church property held by members of Trinity. Not until November 5 of that year was a reference made to an organist. At that time Alvina Hempfling and Katherine Goerlich were mentioned. Another entry pertained to the custodian, Adam Wehr, who had dispensed the duties of this job, resigned, and George Newman was employed at seventy-five dollars a year.

In addition to the problems of a mortgage, organist, and janitor, a fourth and more serious matter claimed the attention of Trinity's membership. Richard Sarlls the owner of the property back of the church raised the blood pressure of these Germans from time to time. It was feared that he had appro-

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[47] "Trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ for strength, I promise Him that I will strive to do whatever He would like to have me do; that I will pray and read the Bible every day and that just as far as I know how, I will try to lead a Christian life, I will be present at every meeting of the Society when I can, and take some part in every meeting."

[48] *Unser Mitarbeiter,* June, 1903.

priated six or eight feet of ground which belonged to Trinity. Then, too, the odor from a manure stable on his property produced an unwelcome scent for the nostrils of Trinity's worshipers, especially if the wind came from a certain direction.

Another item of business at the November meeting was the report of the auditing committee. Since the statement of the treasurer and the entries listed in the books did not agree, the committee requested that the difference of $2.56, be accounted for. Even a penny appeared significant to these thrifty and exacting Germans. With their careful eye on the purse strings, it was made possible for the pastor to announce at the district conference in 1900 that the last three hundred dollars on the church debt had been paid off. Among the other accomplishments which he reported was a summer school in 1899 which he had conducted four times a week for a half day. Likewise, those in foreign climes were remembered and a box of clothing had been dispatched to India.[49]

Modern conveniences in due time also received consideration. On February 4, 1900, it was agreed to install electric lights. Six months later the custodian no longer lighted each lamp. He merely pressed a button and the sanctuary became well illuminated. This replacement was enjoyed until the bill of $40.50 arrived. Then the frugal churchmen loudly acclaimed that they had been fleeced. Their objections were relayed to the firm who had made the installation, with the request that a reduction in the cost be made. The success or failure of their venture has not been revealed. In the estimation of some members, improvements opened the avenue for protection. The matter of insurance was again discussed. Consequently, the property was valued between three and four thousand dollars and it was suggested that if at all possible insurance transactions should be made with the synodical insurance company. From time to time a variety of problems confronted the trustees. At the August meeting, a committee of three was appointed to confer with Susannah Mann to fill the position of organist and choir director. She accepted and in November, it was decided that her yearly salary of one hundred twenty-five dollars should be paid in four installments. Since the organ and choir were in full view of the

[49] *Protokoll der 14 Jahreskonferenz des Indiana Distrikts . . .* 1900.

audience and at a somewhat higher level, it was voted to erect a bannister around the organ landing.

Despite the fact that the trustees may have been regarded by some people as penny pinchers, they were always willing to sing their song of praise with much harmony when the occasion arose. As an illustration may be cited the meeting of August 12, 1900, when the work of the pastor was discussed. The Christian minister had made such an indelible impression upon the membership that when the Christmas season approached, the trustees were anxious to demonstrate the high regard in which they held their pastor. They, therefore, voted the installation of electric lights in the parsonage, at a cost of five hundred dollars, which they raised by subscription.

The next major improvement which was made in the church added greatly to the comfort of those worshipers who braved the elements during the winter months. In November, 1900, a new steam heating system replaced old stoves. The change also improved the appearance of the sanctuary. Probably because of the added comfort, no objections were voiced when the expenditure of five hundred dollars was announced, especially since the sum was raised by subscriptions, leaving the treasury undepleted. It must have been a source of real satisfaction to the pastor to announce at the district meeting 1901 that not only a new heating system had been installed, but the church floor carpeted, a cement walk constructed in front of the church, and bricks laid along the side of the building. The cost of these improvements amounted to $650, of which $450 had been paid.[50] A small auount had been realized on the sale of the old heating stoves.

Among the numerous undertakings in 1900 may be added the publication of *Unser Mitarbeiter,* a monthly family paper for the membership of Trinity. Whether it was issued longer than four years has not been revealed.

Notwithstanding the fact that the minutes varied little as a rule, an item recorded in 1900 at the last meeting has never been duplicated; for at that gathering Christian F. Tente, the retiring secretary, delivered a farewell address.[51] He related

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[50] *Protokoll 15 Jahreskonferenz des Indiana Distrikts . . .* 1901.

[51] Christian F. Tente was born in Westphalia, Prussia, on August 19, 1833. At the age of sixteen he began working in the postal department in his native country and later entered the mercantile business. In 1859 he

that after twenty years of services he had been relieved of the secretaryship and now had become an old man. Likewise, he wished to thank his friends for the confidence and trust they had placed in him. Tente then expressed his sincere good wishes for the work of the church and hoped that it would prosper and flourish. He was, however, opposed to the acceptance of new principles; and recommended that the constitution, which was the real stronghold of the church, should not eliminate the German language. In conclusion, this faithful secretary declared that the church was built for the German-Americans and pleaded that it should remain so.

At all times, the trustees kept an eye on the bank account. Consequently, when the janitor presented a bill at the meeting of February 3, 1901, for some additional work it was granted; but he was instructed never to turn in any more extra bills as they would not be honored.

Although the congregation was not a member of the German Evangelical Synod of North America, Trinity was interested in the work of the Synod and the pastor was requested to invite the Indiana District Conference to Mount Vernon in 1902.

One of the characteristics of Germans was to acquire possessions and then also to protect the acquisition. Accordingly, at a special meeting called for March 24, 1901, the matter of insurance on church property was considered. After some deliberation, it was agreed to insure the building for five thousand dollars and the furnishings for twelve hundred. No item was too small for consideration. As an illustration, two months later, the trustees were looking ahead to the summer months and voting to have a water cooler placed in the vestibule. Every attempt was made to cater to the comforts of the worshipers.

Such improvements as may have been made to fill the pews on Sunday must have produced results, particularly when their shepherd preached stimulating sermons; for at the annual congregational meeting on August 4, it was moved to enlarge the purse of the minister by a hundred-dollar salary increase. The

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came to Louisville and clerked in a dry goods store, but later forsook that for a position as a bookkeeper. He removed to Mount Vernon in 1864 and entered the grocery business. Two years later he married Bertha A. Leunig. Seven children were born to this union. Goodspeed, *History of Posey County*, 534-35.

custodian, however, met a somewhat different fate; for the council was requested to give him what amounted to a contract, stipulating the salary and carefully noting his duties.

Regardless of whether a problem dealt with finances or with the execution of some other obligation, those appointed or elected to an office were conscious of the trust placed in them. Occasionally, however, one erred. As an illustration may be cited the meeting of November 3, 1901, when the auditing committee gave its report. At that time it was discovered that the treasurer had entered ten dollars twice on the same day under regular contributors. Since this was to the disadvantage of the officer, the committee suggested that he be reimbursed for that amount.

In addition to financial matters, there were problems which dealt with expansion. Since the automobile age had not yet arrived, it was hitching racks and not parking lots which required the attention of the trustees now and then. Those were the days when many a lad brought his lassie to the church in a buggy or sleigh and frequently trained the horse not to move too fast. Having arrived at their destination, the horse was tethered to a hitching rack to await the termination of a particular function. As the number of conveyances increased the church had to meet the problem by providing more hitching space. Joseph Thomas, therefore, on one occasion was requested to deliver ten loads of clay for the area to be used for hitching racks, at a cost of $3.50. In the modern age an old building makes way for the parking lot, and at a higher cost than was expended for the more simple conveyances of the nineties. The young people also aided in improving church property. This is deduced from the minutes of February 2, 1902, which state that the secretary was delegated to send a special note of thanks to the Christian Endeavor. What particular project they undertook was not revealed.

Innovations were not confined to such external matters as might constantly meet the eye; but occasionally changes in certain procedures, such as new members, were discussed. The meeting of May 4, 1902, was devoted to such a question. At that time it was decided the future policy of the church would be to cast ballots on individuals before inviting them to join the ranks of Trinity. Another matter at that meeting dealt with finances.

If a bill appeared too high, the trustees were ordered to consult the vendor. In the minutes under the above date, such a case was cited. This stipulated that the bill was not to be paid until it had been reduced.

From the pastor's annual report, it is possible to get some idea of the size of the congregation. For the period from August 1, 1901, to July 31, 1902, he announced that twenty-eight children had been baptized; eighteen renewed their baptismal vows through the rite of confirmation; three hundred had partaken of the Lord's Supper; wedding bells had rung for twelve couples; and seventeen had answered the final summons. He also raised the question whether it might not be advisable to have a German religious school. Special words of commendation were expressed to the Ladies Aid, with a membership of eighty, for having renovated the church. This project had been undertaken because the sixteenth Indiana District Conference had been invited to Mount Vernon for April 24 to 28, 1902. The minister was also pleased to report that the Sunday school and Christian Endeavor were supporting three orphan children in India. During 1901 a new organization composed of men, had come into existence. Two years later its membership had been increased to thirty.[52] Since there is no account of the proceedings of this group available, its history may never be written.

Some years were more eventful than others. The only matter of importance in 1902 displayed the exactness and frugality of these German churchmen. At the meeting of November 2, 1902, William Gonnermann was requested to change the lights in the church. This would entitle the congregation to a refund. It is apparent that if they had made up their minds to pay a certain amount for a particular job, that was all the contractor could hope to get. At times, as was indicated, changes had to be made in order to meet the price which had been agreed upon.

After a somewhat quiet year in 1902, the following proved to be one of considerable activity. As early as February, plans for the celebration of the golden anniversary were discussed. A committee was appointed to search for old documents and it was agreed to publish some type of festival program in English and German. If there should not be sufficient funds for a program

[52] *Unser Mitarbeiter*, June, 1903.

in both languages, then under all circumstances the German should receive precedence over the English.

On June 7, 1903, the congregation celebrated its golden jubilee and for the occasion invited two former pastors, Charles C. Gebauer of Cleveland, Ohio, and Karl Wiegmann of Hecker, Illinois, who preached eloquent sermons in the morning. In the afternoon the Ladies Aid celebrated its twentieth anniversary. A large audience also turned out for the evening service, to hear special music by the choir and two sermons. The first sermon was by Theodore Gebauer of Henderson, Kentucky, and the second by F. H. Freund of Terre Haute, the mission secretary of the Synod. The latter aimed to interest the congregation in the various institutions of the Synod. For a week special services were held. On Thursday evening, June 11, the choir rendered the cantata "Ruth."[53]

The jubilee offering amounted to $215.85. The entire celebration must have been a great occasion. Moreover, the pastor was delighted with the observance. In his yearly report he noted that the membership of the Ladies Aid was eighty; Men's Brotherhood, thirty; Christian Endeavor, fifty; Boys' Verein (mentioned for the first time), twenty; and Sunday school, 125. During the church year of August 1, 1902, to July 31, 1903, twenty-two had been baptized; twelve, buried; sixteen, confirmed; three hundred had attended Holy Communion; and nineteen weddings had been performed. A report in August, 1903, announced the membership of the congregation as 115 of whom 19 had been in good standing for two years.

After all the festivities of the summer and the inauguration of autumn at a special meeting on October 11, 1903, an announcement was made which saddened Trinity's membership. The gathering had been called to inform the group of their shepherd's resignation. It was unwelcome news and most reluctantly accepted. During Mehl's stay the membership had doubled, and both young and old had the highest regard for this Christian servant. His farewell sermon was preached on November 8. Soon thereafter he departed for St. Paul's German Evan-

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[53] *Western Star*, June 11, 1903.

gelical Church at Louisville, where he was installed by his father, Martin Mehl, on November 15 in an elaborate service.[54]

The excellent record which Mehl had produced at Mount Vernon was duplicated at Louisville where he labored until his death on September 12, 1936. He was prominent in synodical circles and served as president of the Indiana District. Furthermore, he was honored by membership on the Central Board of Home Missions and on the Elmhurst College Board of Trustees. Because of his outstanding contribution in the Christian ministry, Elmhurst College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, June 8, 1934. In 1896 he had married Emily Fricke, who had preceded him in death on September 12, 1927.

Interestingly enough, on November 1, before Mehl left Mount Vernon, his successor, Paul Press, had been selected to follow in the footsteps of this very outstanding pastor.

Thus came to a close the first fifty years of Trinity's history. Those fifty years had been sprinkled with both sadness and happiness. As the church crossed the threshold of the second half century, its members were to face a period of even greater challenges.

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[54] *Ibid.*, November 19, 1903.

VI

The Second Fifty Years of Trinity, 1904-1953

WITH the coming of the young bachelor, Paul Press, there began a period of material and spiritual development which was as natural as the unfolding of a bud. This wise, energetic, conscientious guide piloted Trinity through the troublesome years of World War I when only a man of his ability and temperament could steer the ship through the stormy waters. Thus as the master of many delicate situations, he distinguished himself as the perfect diplomat. He made his entrance into the world on March 30, 1877, at Cambria, Wisconsin; and spent most of his childhood days at Francesville, Indiana, and at Arcola, Bourbon, and New Hanover, Illinois. In 1895, Press graduated from Elmhurst College, and three years later completed his theological training at Eden Theological Seminary. After impressive ordination services conducted by his father, Gottlob, and two older brothers, Gabriel G. and Samuel D., in 1898, the young minister began his pastoral duties at Murphysboro, Illinois. Five years later he came to Mount Vernon. On June 28, 1905, he returned to Murphysboro to be joined in holy wedlock with Anna Brauer.[1] This sympathetic and conscientious life companion was a constant source of inspiration and encouragement during his ministerial life. The couple became the parents of three children: Paul, now a successful minister at Ferguson, Missouri; Helen, who entered library work; and Julia, deceased.

Shortly after Press began his field of labor at Mount Vernon, a revision of the constitution appeared as an important item on the agenda of Trinity's trustees. Finally, on August 1, 1904, the document was read for the third time and unanimously accepted. The constitution in effect since June 17, 1883, was declared void. At the meeting on November 6, a long debate over a portion of the old constitution ensued. The result of the controversy was a deletion of that section which caused all the trouble. What part motivated the argument remains a mystery.

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[1] *Der Friedensbote*, December 3, 1950.

When the auditing committee gave its report on February 5, 1905, it noted a discrepancy of thirty-two cents in the treasurer's book. Two months later finances were again the main item of business. The failure of a number of the members to contribute towards the support of the work of the church moved the trustees to appoint Asmus Riecken to undertake the task of calling on those in arrears. A commission of ten per cent of the dues collected was to be his remuneration for the work. At this meeting the matter of building a parish hall came up for discussion and a committee of five was appointed to study the project.[2]

When the trustees met in July, Riecken reported that he had collected ninty-five dollars and fifty cents for back dues. A request was made by the country people to have Sunday school a half hour earlier. Miss Mann having resigned as organist, Mrs. George Kuebler consented to fill the vacancy until the annual congregational meeting. In October the building committee announced its findings on the proposed parish hall. The cost was estimated at five thousand dollars.

The yearly report in November indicated there had been twenty baptisms, fifteen weddings, eighteen funerals; and nine children confirmed. There was also some discussion about the parsonage. Apparently the church planned to build one as soon as a good price might be obtained for the old one. At a special meeting on February 4, 1906, the matter of an organist was settled. C. J. Nelson agreed to undertake the task for four dollars a Sunday. This fee did not include services on holidays or funerals. In April a committee was appointed to investigate the matter of having a German school during the summer months.

According to the minutes of July 1, the old fence around the parsonage was to be removed and replaced by a new one. It was also suggested that the possibility of installing meters for public utilities in the church be investigated. At the November meeting the installation was reported. Apparently the janitor was in doubt about his work, or negligent; for it was agreed that instructions about his duties be placed in writing. In August a large percentage of the membership petitioned that the

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[2] The building committee consisted of William Gonnermann, Fred Hagemann, Sr., Chris Thielman, Charles Scherer, and Paul Press.

annual congregational meeting be held in that month rather than on the third Sunday in November. Since the pastor gave his annual report as of August 1, the change must have been made. Generally speaking, most of the statistical numbers were slightly lower. Eighteen had been baptized; nine, buried; six couples, married; nine confirmed; and 233 had partaken of the Holy Communion. Moreover, the resignation of Nelson as choir director was announced. He had served in this capacity for only six months. Not until nine months later was the vacancy of organist filled by Dora Goerlich at a stipend of one hundred and twenty-five dollars a year.

When the trustees met on November 4, it was voted to give the treasurer ten per cent of all back dues he was able to collect. Among the other items of business was the appointment of a building committee.[3] Since a great many repairs were necessary on the church property, this body asked that a special meeting of the congregation be called. This meeting took place on February 17, 1907. Inasmuch as there was a wide difference of opinion among the members as to the repair program, it was decided to pause for fifteen or twenty minutes to examine the parsonage. The result of this brief examination was a vote to build a new parsonage and add three additional men to the building committee.[4] This conscientious committee began to work immediately and the following month reported plans for the new parsonage. It was to be a two-story building with eight rooms, one front hall, and bath room. The living room, dining room, and kitchen were to be on the first floor; and the pastor's study, and three bedrooms upstairs. The estimated cost of a frame structure was quoted at three thousand dollars, and four hundred dollars more for a brick house. Apparently the report was satisfactory, because the committee was ordered to start the work as soon as possible. The contract was awarded to Louis A. Riecken. While the *Seventieth Jubilee Edition* stated the consideration was seven thousand dollars, there was nothing in the church records to substantiate this sum.

To deviate from the well-trodden path is at times a difficult

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[3] Those appointed were Paul Press, John Krug, and Jacob Hohstadt.

[4] The additional members were Chris Thielman, Conrad Schneider, and Herman Jager.

venture; but in 1907 such a step was taken. In that year children were for the first time confirmed in both German and English. Although the ceremonies in German were conducted at the usual hour on Palm Sunday morning, similar services in English took place in the evening.[5] Another rung on the ladder of progress had been climbed.

Such advancements as were made frequently coincided with problems. Since the Catholic school was just across the street from Trinity, the window panes of the latter served as excellent targets for the Catholic boys who had a desire to practice with their slingshots during recess and at other odd moments. Consequently on May 5, 1907, the trustees of the Catholic church were requested to ask their school children not to destroy the church property of their Protestant neighbors.

Notwithstanding the fact that a number of important items were recorded in 1907, the annual report for that year varied slightly from those of previous years with respect to the statistical information. In November, however, preparations were made for the dedication of the new brick parsonage, but no mention of the nature of these plans was recorded.

Not until August, 1908, is any mention made of a vacation for the pastor. He was allowed two weeks at that time, and his salary was increased by a hundred dollars. A new janitor had been employed in February at an annual stipend of one hundred and twenty-five dollars.

Because confirmation instruction was given on Wednesday during regular school hours, a committee was appointed on October 4 to confer with members of the school board to permit children to be excused from the public schools to attend confirmation instruction.

The following year it was agreed to set aside the morning and evening offerings of a particular Sunday to purchase new hymnals for the choir. On January 2, 1910, the congregation voted to increase the insurance on the church property to ten thousand dollars and to decrease the church debt at least a thousant dollars during the year.

In the minutes of April 3, it was noted that a desire had been expressed by some members that Trinity become affiliated with

[5] Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church Register, 172.

the Evangelical Synod of North America. When the question came up in the yearly meeting, it was voted down. Three months later, it was decided to send a written invitation to all members to attend the annual congregational meeting. Probably to insure good results, it was suggested that an every-member visitation should be undertaken in October to raise funds to liquidate the debt.

Two years later, on August 4, the matter of the church's celebrating its sixtieth anniversary was discussed and it was again suggested that the church become a member of the Synod. Consequently it was voted to call a special congregational meeting on November 10 for the purpose of discussing the question. Of the thirty-four members present, thirty favored uniting with the Synod and four opposed it. Having won this point, plans for the anniversary celebration were postponed until January 5, 1913. At that meeting such pastors as E. Pister of Inman, Kansas, general president of the Synod; Paul Repke of Cumberland, Indiana, district president; William F. Mehl, a much revered former pastor of Trinity, then at Louisville; J. U. Schneider, and Paul Pfeiffer, both of Evansville, were suggested as the speakers for the occasion, which was set for May 25. Looking forward to enthusiastic participation of the membership, the Trinity parishioners decided to remove the fence along the alley and provide additional space for the use of the horse and buggy. Apparently the sixtieth jubilee won support, as the offering for that occasion amounted to $247.66. The fair sex through the Ladies Aid made a generous contribution of $145. Other contributors to the anticipated event were the young people, with a gift of $46. At the quarterly meeting announcement was made that six hundred dollars had been paid toward the indebtedness.

Probably the men were challenged by the women's contribution, for the minutes of November 2 record the organization of the Brotherhood with fifty-two members. Since the men had been organized previously, the meeting of October 31, 1913, on the third floor of the Hempfling residence must have been held to revive a former organization of men. A sumptuous supper was served by the Ladies Aid to this renewed Brotherhood. Louis Wasem was elected president; John H. Peters, Fred P. Knoop, William Dietz, and Fred P. Dietz, vice-presidents; George

B. Kuebler, secretary; and William R. Dexheimer, treasurer. A new constitution was adopted. The object of the new association was "To unite all the male members of this parish, who have attained the age of eighteen years, in the endeavor to serve the congregation, the denomination, and the members of the faith."

Also in that year, according to the only living charter member in Mount Vernon, Mrs. Fred P. Dietz, the Dorcas Society was organized.[6] It was named for a Christian disciple, Dorcas, who had made coats and garments for the poor. At first these ladies confined themselves to making bonnets, aprons, and unusual fancywork. Later, however, they specialized in quilts. They reserved Friday afternoons to stitch and chat.

The amount of the gifts, the anniversary offering, the payment on the debt, the revival of an old organization, and the creation of a new one in 1913 are very significant as that was the year of the great flood in that region. People throughout the county had been called upon to give material assistance to those who had become victims of raging waters. As participants on the stage of life in their community, the membership of Trinity performed nobly and won the respect of their fellow citizens.

Even the forces of nature could not deter such loyal men and women. They kept on working; and on April 4 of the following year the Council reported that the church property was debt free. Any extra collections from then on were to be deposited in the building fund. The spirit of progress and future development was continually winning adherents at Trinity. The revived men's organization on March 15, 1914, voted to act as host for the first quarterly meeting of the Southern Indiana Federation of Evangelical Brotherhoods. Then, too, they may have been the instigation in the erection of a parish hall for on April 5, 1914, the president was empowered to appoint a committee of three to act in conjunction with the trustees of the church with respect to the feasibility of building a parish hall. While this project reached a stage of dormancy, the men viewed with interest some of the nearby property. A program of ex-

[6] The four charter members were Mrs. Fred P. Dietz, Mrs. Charles Maurer, Mrs. John H. Peters, and Mrs. Paul Press. A sketch about this organization appeared in the Mount Vernon *Democrat*, June 8, 1933.

pansion was always in the foreground. Therefore, at the annual meeting of the congregation in August, a committee was appointed to investigate the possibility of purchasing the Sarlls property east of the church. At the October 20 meeting of the Brotherhood, the building committee reported that they had examined the Sarlls property and had made an offer of thirty-seven hundred dollars which had been rejected. The men, however, went on record to recommend to the church the purchase of the property and that the president of the church call a special meeting of the congregation the first Sunday in November to discuss the matter. At this special meeting in November the committee reported the property could be purchased for four thousand dollars. After some discussion the majority voted down the procurement of this property.

When the trustees met on January 3, 1915, they decided to visit Bethel Evangelical Church in Evansville for a tour of their new parish hall. Towards the end of February a special meeting was called to investigate the matter of obtaining pledges for the building of a parish hall. A committee of five was appointed to try to get between four and five thousand dollars in pledges as soon as possible.[7] Oddly enough, the Brotherhood and the trustees both met on January 3. It is questionable whether this was an accident, since both groups were vitally interested in the same matter. There is no doubt that some of the members of the Brotherhood had been disappointed in the action of the congregation with respect to the Sarlls property, but that did not prevent them from reviving their dream of approximately a year before of a parish hall. So great was their enthusiasm for this venture now, that they voted all money in the treasury exceeding fifty dollars at the end of each quarter be placed in the savings account of the building fund. Another special meeting was called on April 4. At this session it was voted to begin the new building project. A committee of five was appointed for this purpose.[8] In June bids were presented and the contract was awarded to Jacob Behrick at ten thousand five hundred dollars.

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[7] This committee was composed of Paul Press, Adam Bayer, Fred H. Hagemann, Fred P. Dietz, and Louis Wasem.

[8] William Gonnermann, Jacob Jourdan, Conrad Schneider, Fred P. Dietz, and Paul Press constituted the building committee.

PARSONAGES



First Parsonage

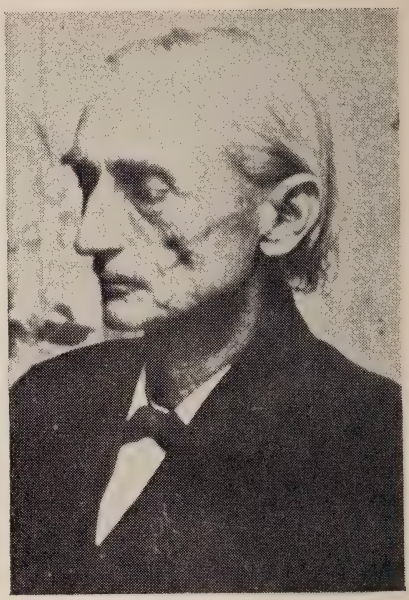


Present Parsonage, Erected 1908

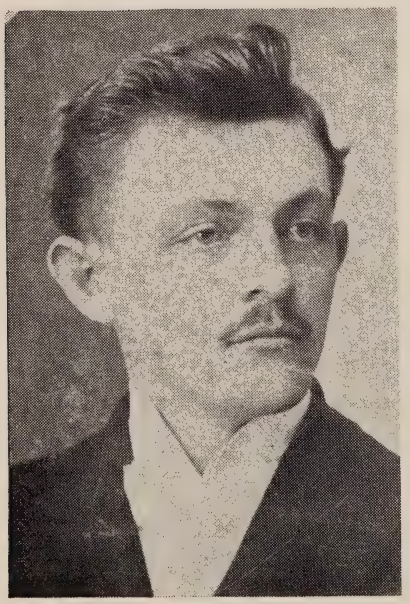
PASTORS OF TRINITY CHURCH



C. C. Gebauer
1880-1889



Karl Wiegmann
1889-1896



William F. Mehl
1899-1903



Paul Press and Henry J. Christman clasping hands symbolizing union of the Evangelical Synod of North America and the Reformed Church in the United States into the Evangelical and Reformed Church, June 26, 1934. Press was pastor of Trinity Church, 1903-1921.

Since the German Evangelical Synod of North America was scheduled to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary in 1915, the congregational meeting in August voted to conduct an every-member canvass in order to present a sizable offering to the Synod.

Progress thenceforth appeared to have no limits; nor was it confined to building projects. The pastor was of the opinion that not all the women had been given an equal opportunity to serve. This was in part due to the problem of language. Accordingly, he extended an invitation to all English speaking ladies of Trinity to meet on Sunday afternoon, January 24, 1915. Although the forces of nature attempted to discourage such a meeting, ten determined women,[9] in spite of inclement weather, accepted the invitation and organized Trinity Evangelical Auxiliary. The first officers—Lena Gonnermann, president; Mrs. Bertha Moore, vice-president; Charlotte Nebe Hammer, secretary; and Magdalena Dieterle, treasurer—began building a worthwhile structure, which has become one of the most useful organizations of the church. Two months after the Auxiliary had been organized the membership had increased to twenty. An assessment of fifteen cents a month was made for each member. The ladies immediately undertook steps to augment the church treasury.

As the building project was progressing, someone conceived the bright idea that new pews might improve the appearance of the santuary. At various times the matter was discussed but no action was taken. The appearance of the property was receiving considerable attention. Posts along the back of the hall were removed, a hedge was to be planted along the east side of the church property, and the iron fence which had been in front of the church was placed along the lower end of the parsonage lot. As the new building progressed, the old confirmation room at the rear of the church and the hitching racks were removed to make way for the new.

Finally in December the new parish hall was completed at a cost of $13,305.17, and the dedicatory service was announced

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[9] Among the ten women were Mrs. Elizabeth Blosfeld, Magdalena Dieterle, Mrs. William Espenschied, Laura Frick, Lena Gonnermann, Mrs. Charlotte Nebe Hammer, Frieda Mann, Mrs. Bertha Moore, Frieda Nebe, and Mrs. Paul Press.

for Sunday the twelfth. Inclement weather may have prevented some people from attending, yet the attendance exceeded the expectations. Paul Pfeiffer of Bethel Evangelical Church, Evansville, preached the English dedicatory service at nine o'clock. At 10:30 the German service was conducted with Samuel D. Press, president of Eden Theological Seminary, preaching the sermon. Another service was announced for 2: 30, at which time J. U. Schneider of Zion Evangelical Church, Evansville, delivered the sermon. In the evening the Protestant churches of Mount Vernon joined the celebration and William F. Mehl of St. Paul's Evangelical Church, Louisville, preached the sermon. On Tuesday evening, December 14, from five to seven-thirty the ladies of the church served one of their delectable suppers. It was estimated that five hundred participated in the festivities that evening. Booths of fancywork and home-made candy were very much in evidence on the first floor. Above the chatter of happy people could be heard the melodious strains of E. Q. McElhaney's Orchestra.[10] Both young and old rejoiced because a goal had been reached.

A large plant requires more help; therefore, in January of 1916 an engineer, Louis Frick, was employed at fifty dollars a year. Early in the new year Trinity received two welcome gifts: the Mount Vernon National Bank presented a wall clock and Mrs. Juanita Graham gave a piano, which helped fill an empty nook in the new hall.

In April of 1916 the question of the hitching posts was again brought up, because the city council informed the trustees that the posts could not be placed in the alley. How the problem was solved was not revealed. Before Easter the local paper announced that the Young People's Society would again sell Easter eggs with Lena Dieterle in charge.[11] Apparently this had been an annual undertaking to supplement this society's treasury.

At the annual congregational meeting in 1916 the minister's salary was raised to ninety dollars a month; and the pastor was instructed to invite the Indiana District Conference for 1917. When the trustees assembled in September and discovered a balance in the treasury for current expenditures, they decided

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[10] *Western Star*, December 9, 16, 1915.
[11] *Ibid.*, April 13, 1916.

to raise the salary of William Deuscher, the custodian, one dollar per month, beginning in January 1917. Dora Goerlich, the organist, was also voted an increase. A special vote of thanks was extended to the Brotherhood for its assistance on obtaining pledges for the church. At the December meeting in 1916, it was moved to have the usual Christmas offering in envelopes to pay toward the indebtedness. It was also suggested that the Sunday school birthday offering might be used to reduce the indebtedness.

After having made all the increases in salaries and devised ways and means of reducing the debt, the trustees were informed by William Seibert, the treasurer, in February of 1917 that there was not enough money in the treasury to meet the regular monthly bills. The committee on pledges was requested to collect from members in arrears. Offerings for special occasions which were announced from time to time must have alleviated the problem. In addition, when it became necessary to employ a new janitor, Louis Frick was appointed to fill the vacancy at two hundred and forty dollars a year. The pastor added to his already heavy schedule by conducting during the Lenten season German services on Wednesday afternoons for the country people; German, on Wednesday nights; and English, on Thursday nights.

A year after the completion of the parish hall, various possibilities for its use came into existence. Among these were meetings of local clubs, Posey County Sunday school convention, and athletics. The latter caused considerable discussion on the part of the membership. Ways and means were found to protect the windows and lights so that basketball might be played under supervision.

The new hall made possible a meeting of the Indiana District Conference there on May 2 to 8, 1917. This date marked the fifth annual session of the brotherhood. Over two hundred pastors and lay representatives attended the conference. In point of number, the Indiana Conference was the third largest of the twenty-one districts, and may have been the largest in point of geographical location. The guests were housed in private homes where they were furnished breakfast and meals on Sunday. During the week the ladies of the church served the

noon and evening meals. There were sixty representatives from nineteen of the thirty-five brotherhoods present. Eden Publishing House had prepared an excellent exhibit on books and other materials available at Eden. A visit to the historic town of New Harmony also was on the schedule. The sessions were conducted in both German and English, but there was an increasing demand for the latter.[12] Many happy contacts were made between the visitors and the people of Mount Vernon.

The women of Trinity made a real contribution at the time of the conference and continued to labor. They were constantly sponsoring suppers, parcel post sales, needlework sales, and in 1917 the Auxiliary took over the Easter egg sale. Thus through these means they were frequently able to place a substantial gift into a depleted church treasury. The Auxilary in that year also provided altar flowers for the first Sunday of each month and in 1918 undertook this task for Palm Sunday, Easter, and special occasions.

Apparently by August of 1917, the church treasury had some funds because two hundred dollars were designated for the seminary debt. At this meeting the duplex envelope system was discussed. This was a system whereby members could contribute separately to the regular expenses of the church and to benevolences. If this system was adopted, there would be no special offerings, as in the past, except for the Mission Festival and the Children's Home at Hoyleton, Illinois. It was voted to try the plan. During this month, the Ladies Aid had also given a generous gift of three hundred dollars toward the reduction of the church debt.

When one problem had been solved another would loom up. Fearing that the spirits of the worshipers might be dampened too much on rainy Sundays because of crevices in the roof which had provided avenues for raindrops to descend into the sanctuary, it was ordered that a new roof be placed on the church. Two months later the trustees announced that a new roof had been put on the church and the expenses for the same were to be met by free will offerings.

Each problem as it arose received due consideration, but the question of language was probably of more paramount interest

[12] *Ibid.*, April 19, 26, May 3, 10, 1927.

than some other items. As early as April 19, 1914, a special meeting had been called to inform the congregation that in the near future, they would be called upon to vote on the question of two services on Sunday morning, one in German and the other in English. Such a plan was endorsed for the first part of July. This action may have been hastened because of world conditions. A spark had been ignited on June 28 in Europe, which some must have foreseen as a warning. Three years later in October the question of the hour for the German and English services was discussed. The attendance at the English service had increased so that it seemed advisable now to have the German services at nine o'clock and the English service at eleven o'clock. When the Lenten season approached, the matter of services in the two languages again came up for consideration; it was voted to hold German services on Wednesday afternoons and the English services at night. Since all the confirmands in 1918 had been instructed in English, it was voted to have only one service on Passion Sunday (when they were to be examined) and Palm Sunday (when they were to be confirmed).[13] Interestingly enough, this group was composed of nine girls and as many boys. Thus the ice had really been broken with respect to the language question but not without objections on the part of some grandparents. One grandmother shed enough tears to generously moisten her large handkerchief. So far as she was concerned the pearly gates would never open to admit her grandchild when it might seek entrance. A number of people were of the opinion that the Lord understood only German and that a prayer or hymn in another language would be uttered upon deaf ears. It appeared as if even mother nature had placed her approval on the fact that English had been the choice of these young confirmands, for on Passion Sunday she had sprinkled her green carpet with early spring flowers in a variety of colors. A golden sun in a heavenly blue sky shone upon the worshipers on that day. On Palm Sunday in 1918, however, the raindrops fell profusely and an umbrella and rubbers were much longed for accessories that day. It almost appeared as if Providence had provided such a day to appease some of the aged.

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[13] The names and the fact that they were all confirmed in English was noted in the Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church Register, 180.

After the Easter festivities, a slight change in the hour of the services was made. German services were announced for 8:30 and the English for 10:30. Upon the entrance of the United States in World War I on April 6, 1917, the feeling towards those of German ancestry became so acute that a year later a special congregational meeting was called for May 19, 1918, and a vote taken on whether to continue with the German services. The majority favored having such services. whereupon it was decided to conduct a service in German for an indefinite period. Because of the intense emotion among the people of the region, at the June 2 meeting, it was voted to remove the German inscription from the church. Children who gave any resemblance to German ancestry or spoke the language were ridiculed in school.

Throughout the county, the people of German ancestry were spied upon. There were meatless and wheatless days and the so-called pure Americans were determined that everybody use substitutes. It behooved people who spoke more than one language to speak only English during these days of persecution. The curiosity of a prominent Mount Vernon doctor having been aroused considerably, he took an exploratory stroll one Sunday morning along Fifth Street between Walnut and Mulberry streets. As he approached the site of the Evangelical Church, he met the child of one of Trinity's most loyal members. The doctor asked the little girl, "What are they doing in there?" Very seriously she replied, "Why don't you go in and see?" Plans had been made to dynamite the homes of some of Trinity's membership and also the church. Parents were not able to conceal from their children such worry as they endured. Those who each day engaged in family worship, petitioned for protection, not knowing when they retired that night whether a new day would greet them or not. In 1918 another cloud darkened the horizon, when in addition to worry, some citizens became the victims of the terrible influenza epidemic. This disease was so prevalent in Mount Vernon that no mission festival could be held at Trinity in that year. Beneath their multiple load of anguished endurance of unjustified suspicion, beat loyal American hearts—the fruit of at least two generations of freedom under the United States flag. Hence, it was these thrifty Ger-

mans who willingly bought Liberty Bonds. The negligible handful of fanatics who were responsible for the condemnation of German-speaking natives of America, fortunately learned their mistake before the coming of World War II.

Trinity Auxiliary, in particular, aided in a number of war efforts and gave much assistance to the Red Cross. Likewise, young men from Trinity answered the call of their country and gave their lives. On the other hand, many accusers had neither chick nor child to worry about and remained unfamiliar with the horrors of war. On March 6 the Ladies voted to record its minutes in both German and English. By April, however, the minutes were recorded only in English and they have continued thus until today.

In spite of all the heartaches which many of Trinity's membership endured in 1918, the faith of their pilot was so contagious as to touch many souls. In return the flock also made its contribution. During that year the Brotherhood gave one hundred dollars toward the purchase of one hundred and fifty Evangelical Hymnals. Occasionally, social and business meetings were mixed, as happened to be the case on January 30, 1919. A committee headed by Jacob Behrick prepared a banquet which not only made the eye twinkle but also whetted the appetite. Delectable country sausage and roast chicken were particularly prominent parts of the repast. After having partaken of such delicious food the guests relaxed and were entertained with appropiate after-dinner speeches for men. The work of the organization was reviewed; and before Louis Wasem concluded his eloquent speech, he introduced the subject of a pipe organ for the church. This suggestion was loudly applauded by the brethren. Since a surplus of food was left over from the party and there appeared to be no practical way of distributing it to needy families in Mount Vernon, the dinner committee held an auction which netted twenty-five dollars. Thus the first link in the financial chain which led to an organ was welded. The spirit of pleasure now waved her wand of gaiety. Thereupon, the famous Dietz and Schultheis "Dudelsack Orchestra" made its entrance to exercise both voice and feet. Since the program which followed respected neither age nor clock hand, the festivities did not draw to a close until "the wee small hours were at hand."

The loyalty of Trinity's membership again came into the limelight when on March 2 a special congregational meeting was called for the purpose of considering the installation of a new pipe organ. After some discussion it was voted to undertake the project and before the meeting adjourned pledges for fourteen hundred dollars had been subscribed.

Nevertheless, the following month a family demonstrated its devotion to Trinity by a most unusual present of a thirty-three-and-one-third-acre farm. This was the gift of Louisa and George M. Grabert. The deed stipulated that at no time could the property be sold for less than seventy-five dollars per acre.[14] While the income has not always been as high as had been anticipated, the sum realized from this source has at times helped to jump the hurdle when emergencies arose.

In June, 1919, it was decided to recommend two congregational meetings a year—the first Sunday in January and the first Sunday in August. At a special congregational meeting on December 21 this plan was approved. In August the pastor's salary was increased to fifteen hundred dollars. Apparently members were paying their pledges, for in September the janitor's salary was increased to three hundred dollars. At this time some misunderstanding with the organist occurred, but no details were given. Although many accomplishments were recorded for 1919, yet, for some the music of the bands which had escorted young men to the depot in 1917 and 1918 as well as the melodies of the songs which had become so popular never died but brought back heart-aching visions. Therefore, at the December 7 meeting of the trustees the pastor was requested to plan a special service to observe the removal of the World War I Service Flag.

The trustees had a pleasant surprise when they met on February 1, 1920; for one of the Sunday school classes announced

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[14] Deed Record Book, 47, Posey County, Indiana, 312. George Michael Grabert was born in Württemberg, Germany, on December 9, 1841. At the age of twenty-five he came to America and settled in Posey County where he worked on a farm in Black Township. In 1867, he rented his own farm, and two years later invested his savings in a forty-acre farm. He increased his acreage in Posey County to over sixteen hundred acres and also owned property in Carson County, Texas. In October, 1877, he married Louisa Susik also a native of Germany. Both of them have answered the final summons. Leffel, *History of Posey County*, 376.

it would like to present the church with individual communion glasses. This offer was endorsed by the trustees. Moreover, the Auxiliary completed the project by presenting three communion trays. Another Sunday school class made a gift of special communion cloths.

At the meeting in March the organist's salary was increased to three hundred dollars. In May, Laurena Inderrieden (Mrs. Oscar Brizius) was engaged to direct the choir, and plans were made for the organ dedicatory service on May 23. Three services were announced in the local paper for this event. Percy B. Eversden of St. Louis, one of the most outstanding organists in the country, played the two-manual organ. Eversden had been born in England and was educated at Reading, Oxford, London, and Heidelberg. His father, a prominent teacher, had begun to teach his son music at an early age. At fourteen, Percy was the organist at a large city church and directed a chorus of two hundred voices.[15] His performance at Trinity was greatly enjoyed by those who were fortunate enough to hear the beautiful tones his nimble fingers and feet produced. The gifts which were received at the three services were placed in the organ fund. Trinity Auxiliary had beautified the sanctuary for the occasion with flowers.

At the congreational meeting on August 1, 1920, Mrs. Inez Lyle Johnson was appointed choir director to succeed Miss Inderrieden who had moved from Mount Vernon. The membership had become very music-conscious and under her direction the services at Trinity were enhanced by this fine art. Some months later Frieda Nebe made a generous gift of twenty-five dollars for choir music. Those who attended the German services also expressed a wish for a choir that would contribute beautiful anthems in that language.

While music has always been an important item in Trinity's program, at no time has it created the problems which may be attributed to the language question. Not until 1920 was it voted that in the future the minutes of the congregation should be recorded in English. Prior to this time some secretaries had struggled with the German. Another important step in 1920 which deviated from the straight and narrow path pertained

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[15] *Western Star*, May 20, 1920.

to women. Although they had from time to time made contributions to the church treasury and assisted by paying repair bills, they had never been admitted to a meeting of the congregation. A special invitation was extended to the fair sex to attend the August meeting in 1920.

Notwithstanding the fact that the women may have more frequently made contributions, the men, too, had undertaken work for their church. On May 13 of the above year, the Brotherhood having become interested in a motion picture projector, it was voted to investigate the matter. Six months later a report was made, but as the price appeared prohibitive the matter was postponed.

As December approached and members of the congregation reminisced about the accomplishments of 1920, the sad news was announced that Paul Press had sent in a letter of resignation in order to serve Friedens Evangelical Church in St. Louis. Not only adults but the children wondered how Trinity could get along without this leader. One important matter needed to be settled before this faithful pastor could leave; namely, a few changes in the constitution. An English and German copy should be provided and the section on voting amended. No more details were recorded in the minutes.

On February 1, 1921, a Sunday school class entertained the Press family with a three-course dinner.[16] At the conclusion of the meal Press spoke briefly to the children who had so nobly from time to time taken the advice of this kind Christian servant.

Six days later the members of Trinity gathered five hundred strong to pay their respects to the Press family. The efficient and faithful ladies of the church organized and engineered this surprise dinner. As the clock struck the hour of seven, the guests were escorted into the dining room of the parish hall, which had been artistically decorated with hearts and darts in valentine colors by the Young People's Society. The toastmaster, Louis Wasem, began the ceremonies in a most dignified manner, but was soon interrupted by two "Yiddish" gentlemen who declared they had been sent to engage "the genial pastor as their

[16] *Ibid.*, February 3, 1921.

rabbi." The scene for some time after the entrance of these uninvited guests resembled a comic play in which all the actors performed in such a manner as to win applause from the audience. Likewise, the appearance of these intruders as well as their remarks about the honored guest and certain members of his flock kept the audience in continuous uproar of laughter. Finally, the two gentlemen were expelled, but before making their departure, they presented the honored guest with a gigantic twelve-inch Red Band cigar. The program now resumed a more dignified tone and representatives from the various societies responded with toasts. An unusual feature of the evening was presented by the choir of twenty-five voices when they sang two original parodies composed by Elfrieda Hironimus. In a very clever and appropiate way these squibs recited the achievements of the pastor and expressed the affection of his congregation. One of these songs which the choir sang with much feeling was as follows:

P is for his prayers so long and earnest,
R is for the ring he always wears
E is education—he is for it.
S is for the sympathy he shares. Another
S is for his destination; happiness we
hope there will always be—
Put them all together they spell PRESS
The word that means the world to me.

The banquet was climaxed with the presentation of a Hoover Vacuum Cleaner, a gift from the various societies of the church.

Upon the completion of the formal program, balloons which had been hung from the ceiling were released, producing a sudden shower of inflated gay-colored balls which bounced in every direction. The party now took on the appearance of a carnival, which proved to be the highlight for juvenile guests. Informal songs and impromptu stunts kept the group together until a late hour.

Paul Press had touched the hearts of many men, women, and children who were not members of Trinity. The high esteem in which he was held by the community was evidenced by the words of commendation expressed by members of the school board of which Press had been a member for twelve years. "His joviality, his sincerity, his inspiring example, and his self-sacri-

ficing service for church and city" had won for him "an enviable position in the community."[17]

On February 27, Press preached his farewell sermon to a large and attentive audience. Two days later the Brotherhood sponsored a smoker for the good-natured pastor. It must have been a success for the secretary noted in the minutes that "Should a stranger have walked in our hall on this occasion and come into contact with the clouds of smoke which rolled from the basement beneath, he would have realized our Brotherhood was enjoying a Smoker in fact as well as in name." Soon thereafter the family left for their new home in St. Louis. In his last charge, Press labored for approximately thirty years. Among the honors bestowed upon him were the presidency of the Missouri District of the Evangelical Synod; presidency of the Evangelical Synod of North America at the time this body merged with the Reformed Church in the United States; membership on the council of the Evangelical and Reformed Church; presidency of the St. Louis Church Federation; and the presidency of Caroline Mission of St. Louis. Elmhurst College conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctor of divinity on June 7, 1935. On November 17, 1950, after over fifty years of extended service, he ended his earthly labors at the age of seventy-three.[18] Truly, he deserves a place among the most notable ministers of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

Once more the trustees were called upon to choose a new minister. Accordingly, at a special meeting of the congregation on February 13, 1921, Theophilus Eisen was chosen. Since Eisen could not come immediately, Theodore Schory from Indianapolis filled the pulpit. The latter had been born at Mansfield, Ohio, on March 4, 1859, trained at Elmhurst and Eden, ordained at St. John's Church in Vincennes, and served churches at Mt. Healthy, Ohio; Newport, Kentucky; New Palestine, Indiana; and Indianapolis. For fifteen years he labored in the Hoosier capital where he remained until his death on April 16, 1932. Two years after his ordination he had married Louise Prell on September 23, 1885.[19]

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[17] *Ibid.*, February 10, 24, 1921.
[18] *Der Friedensbote*, December 3, 1950.
[19] *Ibid.*, May 1, 15, 1932; *Evangelical Herald*, May 5, 19, 1932.

Before the new minister arrived the trustees discovered, much to their surprise, that the treasury was bare and bills continued to come in. Since the building fund had a balance, it was decided to borrow four hundred and ten dollars from this source. During 1921 most of the business dealt with financial problems. In addition to this difficulty, it also became necessary to fill the post of organist, for Mrs. Dora Goerlich Lawrence had submitted her resignation. Fortunately, this dilemma did not prove too serious inasmuch as Mrs. Pauline Chandler was available and enriched the worship services with her musical talents.

On April 26, the Eisens arrived from Sandusky, Ohio, and on May 1, the new minister preached his first sermon at Trinity. Not until June 19, however, did the installation service in charge of J. U. Schneider of Evansville take place. According to a local paper "the beauty and effectiveness of the service" was "greatly enhanced by the musical program of the morning." The Trinity choir, considered "one of the city's finest musical organizations, was at its best, and the masterful and artistic work of Mrs. Morgan Chandler at the organ" was "especially worthy of comment."[20] In all probability, Eisen must have detected some hidden talents in this art among the men; for on May 8 he suggested to the Brotherhood that they sponsor a male quartet or male chorus. The men endorsed the plan, but the seed failed to germinate.

Trinity organizations were active; and in June, 1921, the young people sponsored their annual ice cream social on the lawn of Paul Pfister.[21] The funds from this fete were used to send a representative to the Evangelical Leadership Training School at Elmhurst. Those young people fortunate enough to have been chosen returned to Trinity and definitely contributed to the educational program of the Young People's League as well as to the work in the Sunday school.

The Auxiliary deferred its project to enlarge the treasury until October 27, when the women in this society served one of their savory suppers.[22] At the time of the Tri-State Corn Show

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[20] *Western Star*, April 28 and June 23, 1921.
[21] *Ibid.*, June 9, 1921.
[22] The menu consisted of chicken and pork 15c, peas 10c, mashed potatoes and gravy 5c, slaw 5c, cottage cheese 10c, beans 5c, pie 10c, cake 5c, ice cream 5c, and 10c, and coffee 5c.

in November, they served a dinner, thereby increasing the sum in the treasury. These undertakings made it possible for the ladies to contribute on January 12, 1922, one hundred and fifty dollars to the building fund. Three months later these generous women contributed an additional twenty-five dollars. Moreover, in 1922, the Ladies Aid donated one hundred and twenty-five dollars, and the Dorcas Society one hundred dollars. Interestingly enough, it was the men who worried about where the next dollar might come from; but it was the women who produced the dollars.

After the demise of *Unser Mitarbeiter* no church paper was issued until 1921, when the *Booster* came into existence. Among the other innovations during the Eisen administration was the introduction of the weekly envelope system, which was endorsed at the congregational meeting on August 6, 1922, to become effective on January 1 of the following year. A new constitution was also drafted in 1922 and after the second reading at the August meeting, it was unanimously adopted.

A program so auspiciously begun by Eisen reached a stalemate, when he sent in his resignation on October 11, 1922. Because he was a very sensitive man, he was greatly disturbed by the dissatisfaction with his work prevalent among some members of the congregation. On November 19, he preached his last sermon at Trinity.

Theophilus Eisen was born on March 23, 1879, at Lausanne, Switzerland. Upon his arrival in the United States he settled in the East and faithfully attended the Y.M.C.A. meetings at Newark, New Jersey, on Sunday afternoons. These gatherings made an indelible impression upon his mind and "were a determining factor" in his choice of the ministry as a profession.[23] He attended Elmhurst and Eden to prepare for the Christian ministry. After his ordination in 1903, he accepted the charge at Frederick, Oklahoma; but two years later he returned to the eastern section of the Middle West. For three years he was stationed at Boyne City, Michigan. In 1908, he went to Waverly, Ohio. After one year in this town he moved on to Cleveland and three years later accepted the call from Sandusky. For thirteen

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[23] Theophilus Eisen, Niles, Michigan, to August E. Binder, Mount Vernon, Indiana, October, 1952.

years he had labored in the state of Ohio before coming in 1921 to Mount Vernon. From this southern Indiana town he removed in 1923 to Andrews in the northern part of the state. Here he remained until 1932 when he returned to the Wolverine State. At Niles, which at an early date had become prominent because of Carey Mission, Eisen conscientiously served the congregation of his denomination for fifteen years, and in 1947 joined the ranks of retired ministers. His son Paul, a gifted young man, also chose the ministry, but answered the final summons before he had had an opportunity to demonstrate his ability.

Less than a week after the Eisen family had left Mount Vernon, Johann C. Peters of Indianapolis arrived to supply the pulpit until a new minister could be selected. This kind and experienced minister had been born on January 21, 1854, in Germany. At the age of twenty he came to the land of opportunity, and entered Elmhurst. Upon completion of his studies at the proseminar, he went to the seminary at Marthasville and in 1878 was ordained. Peters began his work in the Christian ministry at Steinauer, Nebraska, where he remained for two years, and then moved to Creston, Iowa. After three years among the tall corn, he left for the capital of the Hoosier State where he labored for about fifty years at Zion's Church. On September 15, 1933, he died at Indianapolis. For fifty-three years, he had shared the hazards and joys of life with Marie Nestel, whom he had married on March 30, 1880.[24] While at Mount Vernon this Christian minister won many friends and Trinity was fortunate in having been able to obtain during the interim the services of a man so well qualified.

The trustees kept up their search for a regular minister and on November 30, which was Thanksgiving Day, Phillip Wiggerman preached. Immediately after the service a congregational meeting was called and the guest pastor was extended an invitation to serve Trinity. In the minutes of this special meeting it was noted that the women of the congregation were permitted to cast their votes in electing a new pastor. In January of 1923, not only the winter weather but also a letter from the new minister added to the problems of Trinity; Wiggerman declined the call. The downcast membership, however, was greatly encour-

[24] *Der Friedensbote*, October 22, 1933.

aged when it was announced that Samuel H. Caldemeyer was available. He was unanimously elected. At this time the financial burden was also reduced by a gift of seventy-five dollars from the Auxiliary which was duplicated by the Dorcas Society. To this was added a generous present of one hundred and fifty dollars from the Ladies Aid. Another important item in the minutes of January 7 was the adoption of the new constitution which granted women the privilege of a vote. Since the document was unanimously adopted, it is apparent that the men were well aware of the generous contributions of the women, especially when the treasury contained no funds.

Fortunately, during the early days of February, the trustees were in a position to announce that the next minister would be Caldemeyer, who would arrive to take up his duties on April 15. The new pastor was a native of Indiana, having been born at Holland on November 11, 1880. In 1898, he went to Elmhurst and continued his studies for the Christian ministry at Eden, where he was graduated in 1906; and in July of that year he was ordained in the Hoosier village of his birth. The following year, on May 23, he was joined in holy wedlock with Ida Reller, a native of Cumberland, Indiana. They became the parents of five children, one of whom, Deloros, died. Eleanor is still at home; Everett is a very successful doctor in Washington, D. C.; Richard has joined the professorial ranks of Ball State Teachers College; and Robert has found his reward in the business world.

Caldemeyer's first charge was at Newburgh. Even today the older members of this church speak highly of the young minister who came to guide them in 1906. He must have made an indelible impression upon his flock; for on some questions his answer is still regarded as the final word of authority. For a number of years he labored in this region and then removed to Shelbyville, where he labored until 1923, the year of his coming to Trinity.

Before Caldemeyer arrived at Mount Vernon, the trustees decided to renovate the church. Again, the women began to operate by giving suppers and pantry sales. Consequently, they were able to make a very substantial financial contribution. Moreover, at the March 4, 1923, meeting of the trustees a resolution was drafted endorsing the study of the Bible in the public



Theophilus Eisen
1921-1922



Samuel H. Caldemeyer
1923-1930



G. F. Brink
1930-1931



Arthur J. Schneider
1932-1936



Walter C. Rasche
1937-1944


Sunday School Primary Dept.
Drama
"Dew Drop" Heifer to Europe
Vacation School
LIFE at TRINITY
New Members
Cradle Roll Children
Parents and Baptized Children
50 year Confirmation Class—1903 - 1953
Shelter House—Trinity Grove
Dorothy Withers—Organist, Choir Director, Church Secretary

schools of Mount Vernon. A copy of this instrument was to be mailed to the proper authorities.

Among the April business items were the appointment of Edward F. Bamberger as choir director, and the reception for the Caldemeyers on Monday evening, April 16. On the previous day a capacity crowd had gathered to witness the installation of the new minister by Paul Press assisted by Johann C. Peters of Indianapolis. Among Trinity's membership, there have always been a number possessed of considerable musical talent. Consequently, a varied program was given at the Caldemeyer reception. The following month, Caldemeyer was properly initiated into the activities of the community by being invited to deliver the baccalaureate address for the 1924 graduating class of the Mount Vernon High School.[25]

Soon after the arrival of the Caldemeyers, the parishioners learned of their shepherd's interest in the great out-of-doors. Hence for August 19, it was arranged to have a service with only the waving green leaves of the stately trees for a ceiling. That this was found very desirable has been demonstrated repeatedly. Probably the unpacking of a basket laden with delectable food after the service helped to popularize an out-door gathering of this kind.

As the early days of fall were approaching, the congregation began to discuss more definite plans for decorating the interior of the church. Women and men were appointed to serve on this committee. In the course of the deliberations over the project, someone suggested undertaking the installation of art windows, opening the opportunity to members who might wish to be responsible for one in memory of a loved one.[26] Such a plan was well received and today beautiful art windows add to the attractiveness of Trinity's interior.

Since the congregation had voted to celebrate the seventieth

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[25] *Western Star*, April 19, May 10, 1923.

[26] Those who contributed for this purpose were the Dietz family in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Phillip Dietz; John H. and Fred P. Knoop; Mrs. A. A. Schenk and Jacob Hohstadt in memory of Jacob and Jacobina Grabert; William Gonnermann, Sr.; Mr. and Mrs. John H. Peters; Adam Bayer and family, in memory of Bayer family; donor for window in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Ferdinand Behrick; Jacob Scherer and daughter Sophia; William and John Riecken, memory of Henry and Asmus Riecken; John A. Schisler; Ladies Aid; and Sunday school. Proceeds from the farm were used for a window in memory of George Michael Grabert.

jubilee on December 9, the Jacoby Art Glass Company was requested to have the windows installed for that occasion. Four former pastors—Charles C. Gebauer, Karl Wiegmann, William F. Mehl, and Paul Press—returned to join in the festivities and delivered sermons which made a permanent imprint on the minds of many parishioners. The account in the local paper referred to the occasion as a triple celebration—renovation, mission, and seventieth anniversary. Beautiful art glass windows graced the sanctuary as did also a new covering for the floor. "Two large circles of beautiful colored lights occupied a conspicuous place in the rear of the altar. One contained the date 1853 . . . and the other the present year and in the center of both appeared in large letters '70th Anniversary.' The large bells in the belfry Sunday morning seemed to understand their silence for the past three weeks and when the sexton grasped the ropes, they gave forth chimes that fairly announced the splendid program to be rendered on that day." The choir sang special music; and Dorothy Kuebler skillfully manipulated the organ.[27] Thus another milestone had been reached.

The trustees tendered unstinted appreciation to the various church organizations which had contributed liberally towards numerous projects. While one of these organizations never made any financial gifts, it was indispensable so far as the trustees were concerned. This was the choir. Every Sunday and on special occasions this small band of singers was as faithful as the pastor. At Christmas time choir members were usually given a box of candy; but in February, 1924, the trustees voted to honor the musicians at a banquet. After the plans had been made, the trustees called upon their wives to assist.

At the approach of the spring of 1924, the perennial desire for additional land was expressed. Some members cast longing eyes toward the property east of the church which was offered for sale. After an investigation, it was discovered that the Jarodski property might be purchased for five thousand dollars and the Lawrence property for seven thousand dollars. No further mention is made in the minutes about the real estate.

The minister remarked at the congregational meeting on January 4, 1925, that the year had not been an outstanding

[27] *Western Star*, December 13, 1923.

epoch in the history of the church but rather a period of consolidation and internal development. The church council had practiced the strictest economy and refrained from granting any new expenditures. Consequently, it had cleared the deck for the proposed campaign of liquidating the old indebtedness.

In August of 1925 an old custom was revived when the custodian was instructed "to ring the bell at eight o'clock on Sunday mornings, as was formerly the custom." The music of the church bell had a special attraction for many. On the other hand, to others it frequently revived memories of a loved one; for before the days of the radio, Trinity's bell announced the passing of a member. The number of tolls indicated the age of the deceased.

Throughout Trinity's development, its members were confronted by various problems. One of these was the question of the legality of its corporation. This was questioned at the April 11, 1926, meeting. This doubt was laid to rest on May 9, by a report which stated that within ten days after the recording of the election of the trustees of the church in the county recorder's office the church had been legally incorporated. April was also an important month for the Brotherhood, inasmuch as on the thirteenth, they voted to sponsor a Boy Scout Troop. After six years, interest must have lagged; for on March 7, 1932, the equipment of the troop was turned over to the Owen Dunn Post No. 5 of the Legion.

In 1926 the trustees gave another dinner, honoring Edward F. Bamberger, the retiring choir director; Mrs. Inez L. Johnson, the incoming musical director, whose duties had begun on May 1; and members of the choir. Bamberger was presented with two ten-dollar gold pieces in appreciation for services rendered. By fall the matter of remodeling the choir loft and pulpit came under discussion. It was estimated this project would cost slightly over eleven hundred dollars. Apparently this appeared too high, for the proposed changes were dropped.

In all probability a forthcoming celebration may have been responsible for this action. On January 9, 1927, the membership of Trinity met for a special note-burning service in which Paul Press participated. Preceding the service two hundred and fifty members gathered for a pot-luck supper and were entertained by Tim Crunk and his orchestra. "As the echo of

Trinity's bell peeled through the air at 7:30 o'clock not one seat was available in the church auditorium proper and several hundred were seated in the Sunday school hall. It was an honest-to-goodness wintry Sunday . . . and the unpleasant weather was insufficient to in the least dampen the ardor and enthusiasm of Trinity's hosts . . . The members of the church council and the presidents of the various organizations of the church formed a semicircle about the altar and each was given a candle to hold. After the church was darkened these candles were lighted. Upon the treasurer of the Building Fund was conferred the honor of holding the candle that . . . completely consumed the $1,000 note, representing the pecuniary obligations of our church in their entirety, forever dispelling the fears of those less strong in heart relative to the burden resting upon our shoulders, and calling forth unstinted praise and thanksgiving from a deeply appreciative and indeed grateful people."[28]

If the proposed remodeling had taken place, the congregation would not have been debt free on the above date. In March the various women's organizations again made generous gifts. The Auxiliary contributed two hundred dollars, the Ladies Aid, one hundred thirty-five dollars, and the Dorcas, one hundred. Such an increase of the treasury from these sources must have touched some of the membership and stimulated them to further expenditures—especially since the congregation was debt free. Therefore, on April 3, the partitioning of the balcony in the parish hall came up for discussion; but when the estimate of $1,880 was presented on May 1, no action was taken.

Nevertheless, whatever else may have been postponed because of cost, music for the choir was always a must at Trinity, for this is an art in which Germans excel. A good article by Inez Lyle Johnson on the choir appeared in the September, 1927, issue of the *Trinity Evangelical Booster*. The author pointed out that "not only did the choir render faithfully its required part in the regular services of the church—but in addition gave three special programs of sacred music and furnished songs for two outside events." Mrs. Johnson continued by remarking that the choir had a repertoire of "sixty-five anthems and one

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[28] *Trinity Evangelical Booster*, February, 1927. The minutes of the Brotherhood give the date of January 2, 1927, which is an error.

cantata." She stated that it was "hardly possible to read the record of activity without being cognizant of the enormous amount of labor" it represented. "Fine music never dies, but continues year after year in the hearts and minds of those who love it and is always in demand—somewhere. There is nothing so dead as last year's 'song hit.'" "The choir," she wrote, "being devoid of . . . petty jealousies and conceits that often disrupt like organizations," was "a pleasant congregation of friends." She was convinced that if a choir confined its efforts to the church alone, it failed in its mission to the community at large. Mrs. Johnson, concluded by quoting from the Tacoma *Ledger* that "where there is a love of music there is always promise of good morals, good citizenship; for love of the true and beautiful makes for better men and women and a better world in which to live."

The good women of the church must have read this article and pondered on certain statements, for the following month they expressed their appreciation for the services rendered by the choir and served a supper for the benefit of this group.

In the annual report of the pastor he stated that the choir had so distinguished itself in the community that Trinity could justly be proud of this organization. In commenting on other societies of the church Caldemeyer was happy to report that all were in splendid working order and ready to undertake any task within reason which might confront them. During 1927 a Girl Scout Troop was organized at Trinity. This met a real need. In 1926 an attempt had been made to organize a Junior League. From the minutes of February 14, 1927, it is apparent that there was so little interest that the organization was disbanded. In the latter year, however, the pastor reported that the Evangelical Young People's League had been reorganized and was manifesting much enthusiasm. He was also pleased to announce that the Home Department had been active in 1927.

When signs of spring appeared, the ladies began to clean the corners and even undertook some painting jobs in the parish hall and parsonage. There was a reason for all this cleaning and painting. Trinity had invited the Indiana District Conference to be its guests for its forty-second annual meeting—May 3 to 7. Every able-bodied man and woman was given an opportunity

to contribute in some fashion toward the success of this gathering. Mrs. Johnson spent extra hours with the choir to render special music for the occasion, and the Ladies Aid purchased choir gowns, an innovation which added to the dignity of the service. On Sunday, May 6, the twelve-piece Sunday School Orchestra made its debut. Again, two former popular ministers were present and on the program.[29] For important occasions at Trinity, an attempt was always made to have Paul Press and William F. Mehl on the program. These two pastors had made a deep imprint upon the membership of Trinity during their pastorates in Mount Vernon.

On March 2, 1928, it was voted to change the pulpit, erect a director's station in the choir loft, elevate the choir loft floor, and provide a room for the choir on the west side of the parish hall balcony at a cost of $133.05. This was the project of the Dorcas Society. The women also placed substantial sums in the treasury so that the trustees could meet regular bills. Somewhat of the conditions in 1928 was reflected in the pastor's annual report. He stated that "progress has been made in many directions but the work has been greatly retarded through the failure of crops and general depression which has cast its shadow over our entire community." Nevertheless, the choir attempted to direct the attention of Trinity's membership to a worthwhile free program, the presentation of John Stainer's "Crucifixion." During the month of April a twelve-piece young people's church orchestra played special musical numbers for the Sunday school service in addition to the customary hymns.[30]

In that year of hard times, the Brotherhood consisted of strong, courageous men who asked for the privilege of erecting a permanent stage in the north end of the parish hall. After some discussion it was voted to grant the request provided the necessary funds were available before construction began and that plans and specifications for the project had been approved by the congregation.

The Brotherhood was interested in a number of worthwhile projects. It was responsible for playground equipment at the Hoyleton Orphans' Home. Then, too, it supported a student fund

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[29] *Western Star*, April 26, May 3, 10, 1928.
[30] *Trinity Evangelical Booster*, April, 1928.

which assisted promising young men who were preparing for the ministry. Social events were also engaged in. Among these were the famous fish fries. Occasionally a baseball game between the leans and the fats took place. Since the former were a little faster on their feet, they could be counted on as the victors. After such fun the church officials were frequently relaxed sufficiently to attack difficult problems.

Because of the financial status in October, 1929, money had to be borrowed to complete a walk on the north side of the parsonage. Since the Ladies Aid had some money, they undertook the financing of this walk. It was also necessary to construct a garage; but permission was not to be granted until four hundred and fifty dollars were in the treasury for that purpose. This structure was erected, but the minutes of the future meetings fail to reveal when it was built. Since a vote of thanks was extended to the pastor and garage committee on May 5, 1930, the structure must have been completed sometime prior to that date. A frame barn on the rear of the parsonage lot was to be sold for twenty-five dollars with the stipulation that the purchaser remove the building at his own expense.

During the remainder of that year and the first part of the following year, the regular routine was followed until May 4, 1930, when the congregation was startled by the resignation of Samuel Caldemeyer, the resignation to become effective August 3. The minutes under that date state that the pastor was extended a rising vote of confidence and that it was "not the will of the congregation" but the wish of the minister to sever these connections. After Caldemeyer left Mount Vernon he served a church at Springfield, Missouri, for sixteen years, and then retired in the Hoosier State near Evansville. Among his hobbies while at Mount Vernon may be listed fishing, hunting, and operating the twenty-two passenger bus which he built in the garage of a member of the church. Caldemeyer is still held in high esteem by the older members of Trinity.

Approximately three months later, on July 27, it was unanimously voted to extend a call to G. F. Brink, a native of Illinois, who had attended Elmhurst and Eden Theological Seminary. After his ordination, he had been assigned to a mission church in Pasadena, California. It did not appear advisable to this

young minister to undertake the long trip alone; so he took unto himself a wife, Bertha A. Brink, who was more fortunate than most women since it was not necessary to change the name, but merely add the Mrs. She, too, was a native of Illinois. On July 15, 1915, the young couple exchanged marriage vows and then left for the West.[31] Two years later Brink received a call to serve St. Paul's Church at Waterloo, Illinois, where he spent eleven years. Since this was a large church, the work was very heavy, and his health was failing, he resigned to accept a smaller charge at Little Rock, Arkansas. Here he regained his health and when Trinity extended an invitation to come to Mount Vernon, he accepted.

On September 22, 1930, the church gave a reception for their new pastor and the Paul Press family. October 19 had been set aside for the installation service, but approximately a week before this date the minister, Paul Press, who was to conduct the service, became ill. Consequently, the service was postponed to November 2 and combined with the mission festival. F. Kuether was then invited for that date, but a death in his family prevented him from coming. Thus on short notice a half-brother of Brink, F. W. Brink, of Red Bud, Illinois, conducted the service.[32]

His stay here was of short duration. Six months after his arrival he had a complete breakdown. Ministers of other denominations of Mount Vernon filled the pulpit. C. P. Karrick, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, had performed a similar service between the departure of Caldemeyer and the arrival of Brink. When the latter took ill, in addition to Karrick, E. F. Shake of the First Methodist Church assisted. Since there appeared to be no improvement in Brink's health, he resigned on September 12, 1931, stating that "I am prompted to do this because of my ill health. The church has now waited five months and it is time that a man be on the job here that the work of the church might not lag." He removed to Hoyleton, Illinois, and after two years had recovered enough to resume preaching. For six years he lived in his home town and then went to Free-

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[31] They became the parents of four attractive children. Ruth, Mildred, Frederick, a chemist in St. Louis, and David, now in the service of his country.

[32] *Trinity Evangelical Booster*, September to November, 1930.

burg, Illinois, where he remained for fourteen years. On April 1, 1952, he removed to New Baden, Illinois.

Before a call was extended to another minister, the congregation scouted around for a choir director and finally offered this position to Norman A. Beeson to begin his work on September 25, 1931. The minutes of November 8 of that year stated that Arthur J. Schneider of Alhambra, Illinois, had been invited to serve Trinity. He accepted and began his work on February 9, 1932. Thirteen days later a reception was given for the Schneiders.

The new pastor was a native of St. Louis, Missouri. After having completed his elementary education, he entered Elmhurst, graduating in 1917 and then continuing his studies for the Christian ministry at Eden Theological Seminary. In 1920 he was ordained and entered the profession of his choice at Alhambra, Illinois, where he remained until his coming to Mount Vernon. For his life companion he had chosen Ermine Lindhorst. Two girls, Ruby and Ruth, have brought much sunshine to this home.

Such changes as had been made in pastors from time to time apparently did not interfere with the activities of the various organizations. Somewhere along the line leadership had been encouraged and developed. Among these organizations was the Young People's League. On May 4 they gave in the parish hall a four-act play, "That Girl Anna," for which an admission charge of ten cents was made.[33] On December 21, the choir presented the Christmas cantata "King of Kings" by Daniel Protheroe, under the direction of Norman A. Beeson. The women's societies were also very active and regularly replenished a bankrupt treasury. They did not confine their work to Trinity alone. During the summer of 1932, the Ladies Aid filled a barrel of canned goods for Hoyleton and in the spring had provided dresses for several girls at the same institution who were being confirmed.

Individual members also gave generously of their time and talents. A very skilled man was George Krug, who had repeatedly done many large electrical jobs for his church. One loyal member, Gottlieb Grabert, gave a grove for church gather-

[33] *Western Star*, April 28, 1932.

ings which was dedicated in May of 1933. From the October 12, 1932, minutes of the Brotherhood it is apparent that the men were responsible for promoting this project. They obtained a lease from Grabert for five years and paid the sum of one dollar. The church farm also called for attention and on August 1 of the above year, it was voted to enter into a contract with George McCarthy to rent it for seventy-five dollars, which sum was to be paid in coal delivered when ordered at current prices.

Because of the activities of the women, the Young People's League also caught the spirit. For the eightieth jubilee they presented the play "The Twins and How They Entertained the New Minister." This apparently was a "take off" on the new minister, who had twin girls. The play made enough of an impression on the members of the Auxiliary to be recorded in their minutes of May 11, 1933. According to an account in the local paper, the Young People's League and choir furnished the entertainment for the congregational supper on June 9 of that year.[34]

From the minutes of the Auxiliary, it is evident that the Junior Choir was active. The Auxiliary made and furnished the material for twenty-five robes. They gave banquets and suppers, as did the Ladies Aid, to supplement the church treasury. Some of their funds were also used to paper bedrooms at the parsonage. The Ladies Aid cooked burgoo for the Evangelical Day on September 9, 1934. Each year the various women's organizations gave cash gifts to worthy institutions of the Synod. There were three institutions which benefited in 1934.

The people of Trinity rejoiced in 1934, when their former beloved pastor Paul Press was honored with the highest office of the Evangelical Synod. No one in the entire Synod was more worthy of this position than the Christian minister who was elected. During his stay at Trinity, leadership had been developed among the laity.

The first record of a candle light service early on Christmas morning was recorded in 1934. This policy was followed for several years. How popular this service was has not been revealed, but it was impressive to those who attended.

As the number of older members was reduced, attendance at

[34] Mount Vernon *Democrat*, June 8, 1933.

the German services became smaller. Therefore, at the meeting of the trustees on February 4, 1936, it was agreed to hold German services only once a month, and that the first Sunday should be designated for that purpose. Early in that year a substantial gift was received for a stage at the north end of the parish hall. Interestingly enough, a number of gifts were also received for a memorial cross on the church steeple. This symbol of the Christian church was ordered so that it might be placed on the steeple by Easter.[35] The work was completed as scheduled; and on April 1 the cross was lighted for the first time. That made a deep impression upon those who saw it, as was noted by an account in the local paper.

"Down through the ages since the first Good Friday almost two thousand years ago the Cross has called to humanity with its message of spiritual hope and salvation.

"Last night there beamed from the steeple of Trinity Evangelical Church in Mt. Vernon a gloriously beautiful, illuminated cross—a cross erected in loving and sacred commemoration of stalwart Christians, members of Trinity congregation who have heard that clarion call, whose lives have been in keeping with its message and who passed on serenely confident that its promise would be fulfilled.

"Trinity's new electrically-illuminated cross, visible for miles about, is more than a thing of material beauty. Its beams are a shining testimonial to the Christian teachings not only of Trinity church but every Mt. Vernon church and of the faith in general. Gleaming through the darkness of the night, it will be a source of inspiration to those who see it and in its majestic beauty it will serve as a challenge to the weary wanderer that there is refuge and solace in the institution of which it is the crowning symbol.

"We view it as a memorial to the dead that will be an inspiration to the living, sending through the night a message of peace and hope and comfort to all who see its lovely radiance."[36]

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[35] The cross was erected in sacred memory of Adam Bayer, Fred P. Dietz, William Espenschied, William Fellemende, George Keitel, George Koerner, Charles Maurer, Henry Miller, August Neumann, Mrs. Katherine Riecken, Mrs. and Mrs. Jacob Scherer, James Short, and departed members of the Ladies Aid. LeRoy Agin donated the lights for the cross which were of a special construction. Church Bulletin, April, 1936.

[36] Mount Vernon *Democrat*, April 2, 1936.

Likewise, from the pen of Charles D. Rowe came the poem "The Light on the Spire," which was also published for the benefit of Trinity's membership.

We saw the light upon the spire,
It pierced the azure of the night.
It did each one of us inspire
It was so beautiful and bright.
I thought of it as something sent
To show us all the way.
To higher things and brighter things
An admonition, I might say;
That we should mold each of our lives
So that when we are gone
To meet the Master in the Sky,
He'll say to us, 'Well done.'
It is a shining beacon
To all who in the Faith abide.
A lovely tribute to the One
Who on the cross for us died.[37]

The Ladies Aid purchased and installed an automatic clock for turning on and off the lights of the cross. This lighted symbol served as a beacon for the distressed in 1937 at the time of the flood. It directed many people to a haven of refuge in Trinity's parish hall from the mad waters of the Ohio River.

On August 9, 1936, Schneider submitted his resignation to become effective on October 31, since he had accepted a call to Emmanuel Church in Louisville. On October 18, a farewell party took place and as a gift the retiring pastor of Trinity was presented with a mixmaster. During the war years, Schneider felt the urge to serve his country, so was trained for the chaplaincy at Fort Devens, Massachusetts, after which he was assigned as Chaplain to the Officers Training School at Fort Lee, Virginia, where he remained until 1946. At the expiration of this work, he became pastor of St. Luke's Church at Independence, Missouri. In 1953, he became superintendent of the Pastors' Home at Blue Springs, Missouri. Other honored positions include the chairmanship of the Kansas City Synod and membership on the National Mission Board.[38]

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[37] *Ibid.*, April 3, 1936.

[38] Arthur J. Schneider, Independence, Missouri, April 11, 1953, to Elfrieda Lang, Bloomington, Indiana.

Again the trustees were faced with the problem of obtaining a spiritual leader. After some consideration, Walter Rasche was invited to shepherd Trinity on October 11, 1936. Rasche was born on September 11, 1902, at Burlington, Iowa. He attended Elmhurst College and Eden Theological Seminary. Upon the completion of his work at the latter institution he was ordained at Zion Church, Burlington, Iowa, in 1927, and then took his first charge at Jasper, Indiana. By the following year, he had concluded that he needed a companion to make life more interesting. Thereupon, he went back to Burlington and married Naomi Toup. They became the parents of three children—Sidney, John and Nancy. The younger Rasches were natives of the Hoosier State and the parents had adopted Indiana. Therefore, when the call came from Trinity, a move to this extreme southwestern part of the state appealed to the entire family. Rasche, however, was not able to begin his work in Mount Vernon until after the Christmas holidays. On January 3, 1937, he conducted his first service at Trinity. Because of the February flood which did much damage in the Tri-State area, the new minister immediately jumped into action, giving unstinted assistance to hundreds who were deprived of their homes and cherished possessions. Approximately 160 refugees were housed in the Trinity parish hall for a period of three weeks.

In the autumn of 1937, a thoughtful donor, mindful of those whose hearing had been impaired, had ear phones placed in some of the front pews of the church. Also at that season of the year Trinity sent flowers and a congratulatory letter to the First Presbyterian Church then celebrating its hundredth anniversary. October was also a busy month for the Ladies Aid, since they packed two barrels of canned goods for Hoyleton. Moreover, they and the Auxiliary delved into their treasury and provided the church with sufficient funds to pay salaries. The Brotherhood also made an unusual contribution in 1937 by serving the Mother and Daughter Banquet.

On November 13, 1938, the eighty-fifth anniversary of Trinity was celebrated with the more or less typical program. The following year the Ladies Aid undertook to rewire the church. Moreover, the Auxiliary agreed to repair the organ and contracted to have it kept in good condition in the future. The in-

debtedness of one hundred dollars was also paid off. At a meeting of the trustees, it was agreed to have the church equipment appraised. The valuation was placed in 1939 at thirty-one thousand dollars. Men entrusted with such a job apparently find property in every possible condition. Their comment about Trinity was interesting and pleased the membership; for they remarked that they had never found a church so clean.

In 1940 when the Auxiliary celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary, the Ladies Aid Society neatly prepared a package of twenty-five silver dimes for the occasion—a thoughtful act on the part of the good women—and presented the gift to the Auxiliary. Furthermore, on May 7, 1940, the trustees gave their approval for a new church organization known as the Fireside Fellowship Club which was particularly interested in the young married people of Trinity.

Another outstanding event of that year occurred on October 13 when the Reformed Church in the United States celebrated its 215th anniversary, the Evangelical Synod of North America its hundredth, and the Hungarian Reformed Church its fiftieth. The Brotherhood also gave a liberal contribution of five hundred dollars toward necessary replacements for roof and furnace.

As 1941 approached, the Auxiliary brought up the question of increasing their dues to fifteen cents. During the twenties the dues had been ten cents. In the same year both the women's organizations contributed toward the purchase of 175 copies of the new hymnal. Their gift was augmented by the Wednesday night Lenten offering.

In July, there arose the question of the ownership of the grounds of St. Paul's Evangelical Church in Point Township, commonly known as the Weiss Cemetery. An investigation was made and a report was given at the November 4 trustees' meeting. Of the original members only four were living in Posey County.[39] These elderly people met, elected officers, and transferred the one acre in question to the trustees of Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church. This action was taken because pastors of Trinity had served St. Paul's Church. On March 9,

[39] They were Mrs. Elizabeth Richter (96 years), Mrs. Louisa Grabert (85 years), Mr. and Mrs. Adolf Bautz (ages 74 or 75 years). Walter, the deceased son of the Bautz couple, was the last child baptized in the old church.

1918, the building had been razed and sold to Henry Brinkman. The trustees' minutes of February 3, 1942, state that the real estate formerly known as Weiss Cemetery had been leased for oil and gas. The following month fifty dollars from the oil fund was donated to the building fund of St. Matthew's Church at Evansville. Two months later plans were made to beautify the actual area of the Weiss Cemetery by planting shrubbery and taking care of the grounds.

From the various church records, there is every indication that 1941 appeared to be a somewhat better year. Nevertheless, after most of the families had gone home from the regular services on Sunday, December 7, after enjoyment of a delectable dinner, a great cloud arose on the horizon because of the announcement that the Japanese had struck at Pearl Harbor. There was no choice so far as projects for 1942 were concerned. Both the Auxiliary and Ladies Aid immediately became active in various war relief projects. The Auxiliary sent food, money, and prayer books to the men in service. The last mention of an Easter egg sale was made in May by this organization.

Throughout the church at large an attempt was made to have one woman's organization, known as the Guild. The first meeting of the Guild at Trinity was held on April 23, 1942.[40] Several plans were suggested to prevent Guild interference with existing organizations. Trinity adopted plan B whereby the existing organizations were to continue operating as before and twice a year—May and October—all the women were to gather for a joint meeting. Then, too, instead of four officers, it was decided that there should be only two—president and treasurer. This plan is still extant. Their first challenge was sacrificial giving and the promotion of Christian service in the home, the local church, the denomination, the community, the nation, and the world.[41]

During 1943, the Auxiliary bought several bonds to be presented to the church at the time of the hundredth anniversary. Two flags, a Christian and American, were also purchased and

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[40] The first officers were Mrs. Edward A. Pence, president; Mrs. Charles Pearson, vice-president; Mrs. Wiliam G. Holler, secretary; and Mrs. Jesse Wade, treasurer.

[41] Mrs. Edward A. Pence, Mount Vernon, Indiana, May 11, 1953, to Elfrieda Lang, Bloomington, Indiana.

given to the church for Trinity's ninetieth birthday. At their last meeting of the year the eight war mothers who were members of the Auxiliary received service pins.

An outstanding event for Trinity took place on Sunday afternoon, June 6, 1943, when Edward T. Grabert, the son of Karl F. and Louisa Thienes Grabert, was ordained "as the first and only minister from the congregation of Trinity in its ninety years of existence." In remembrance of the day, he was presented with a private communion service. Likewise, the interest of the Ladies Aid in this first son was shown by a gift of a ministerial robe. At noon on the above date a fellowship dinner was given in his honor.

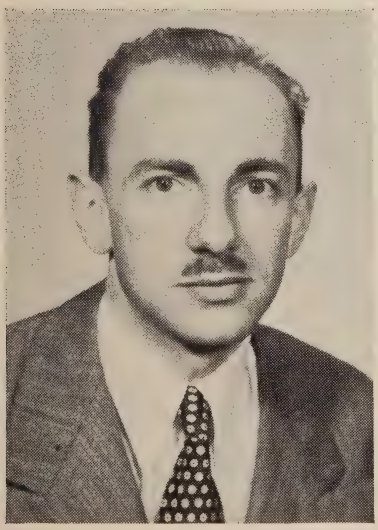
This first son of Trinity was born on December 7, 1916. After completing his elementary and secondary education, Edward, a studious young man, attended Evansville College. From this institution he received the A.B. degree in 1939. At that time Edward had chosen his life work and continued his education at Eden Theological Seminary, receiving the B.D. degree in 1943. Four years later he entered Union Theological Seminary. The S.T.M. degree was awarded at Union in 1953. Edward still prefers to be a student and now is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at Drew University. For one year—December, 1940, to December, 1941—he was a student pastor at Zoar Evangelical and Reformed Church at Rowena, Texas. From June 13, 1943, to May, 1945, Edward supplied Lamar-Fulda Parish, Lamar, Indiana. He, too, felt the urge to serve his country and from May, 1945, to March, 1946, he was a chaplain in the army. For two years—October, 1949, to September, 1951—Edward supplied the pulpit of Woodmont Union Chapel, a Congregational Christian church, at Woodmont, Connecticut. On May 1, 1943, he married Christina Goff of Mount Vernon and together they have met with fortitude the problems of life. Three children—Margaret Louise, Nancy Lynne, and Edward Thomas II—have been born to this union. For the last two years the Grabert family has been living at Denville, New Jersey, while he is studying toward a doctorate degree in theology.

After the ordination festivities of the first son of Trinity, regular routine business occupied the attention of the trustees for the next four months, and then the periodical language

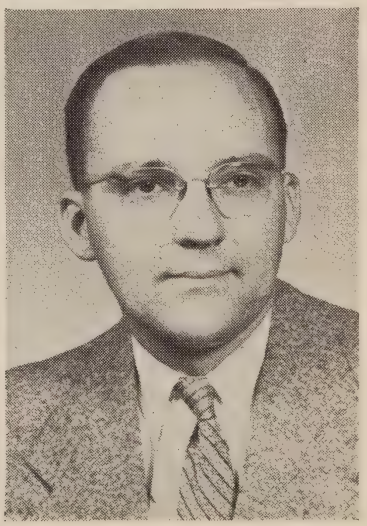


Mrs. Kate Schenk and John E. Starken, confirmed, April 14, 1878, members of Trinity Church for 75 years.

SONS OF TRINITY CHURCH ORDAINED INTO THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY



Edward T. Grabert
Ordained, 1943



Eugene A. Schneider
1948



CENTENNIAL YEAR CONFIRMATION CLASS

Back row: Carolyn Kietel, Marjorie Cullman, Arvilla Knopfmeier, Charles Edward Beste, William G. Holler,* Margaret Espenschied,* Judy Schneider,* Norma Kelley. Front row: Travis Bauer, Rev. August E. Binder, Gary Hellenberg. (Asterisk denotes direct lineal descendants of founders of the congregation.)

question was discussed for the last time. When the church was organized, it was always referred to as the German church. Gradually, however, due to circumstances, the use of the language at Trinity became less prominent, and by November 7, 1943, "German services by consent were discontinued for the year." At the same meeting it was announced that forty-nine young men from Trinity were in the service of their country. These men were always in the minds of those at home and on December 12 "The consent of the church council was given to use the funds donated for individual gifts to boys in service for the purchase of a perpetual candle to be kept burning in their honor."

Every effort was made to keep abreast with synodical obligations even during the war. Hence, it was gratifying to learn when the delegate, George H. D. Scherer, returned from the meeting in Indianapolis, May 9 to 11, 1944, that Trinity had been awarded a certificate of recognition for having paid its synodical apportionment in full for seven consecutive years.

Not all surprises, however, were so pleasant as this incident. Both types confronted the members of Trinity from time to time. Among the undesirable happenings at this time was the resignation of Walter C. Rasche on October 8, 1944. He, too, had felt the urge to enter the service of the stars and stripes. The October 10 minutes of the Auxiliary express in a very laudatory manner the reaction of this organization toward Rasche. "In addition to his successful ministry to his own congregation, he has taken an active role in general religious and church affairs of the whole community, and has been particularly active in youth movements. As a civic-minded citizen he has contributed much to community enterprises and has been prominent in amateur and high school athletic programs."

The announcement that he "has been accepted by Uncle Sam as a Navy Chaplain is received by his legions of friends in his church and in all Mt. Vernon with pride and regret—pride that he has willingly accepted a call to duty in the mighty sea arm of America's military might, and regret that acceptance of this call terminates at least for the present his pastoral duties in Mt. Vernon . . . He possesses many special qualifications for his military service, youth and youth's problems. Deep-seated and inherent as are his religious beliefs and moral tenets, he

possesses also that charitable affection for humanity in general that has caused him to be welcomed by those individuals who ordinarily would shy at religious counsel." The secretary concluded by recording "we departed not saying 'good-bye' but rather 'till-we-meet-again' . . . We wish you good luck and smooth sailing in the service of our country. Our regret in losing you is balanced by our pride, love, respect and admiration for you."

Rasche departed from Mount Vernon for the navy chaplaincy school at William and Mary College. After the termination of the war, he was active in the home mission field at Tonawanda, New York, and in 1950 began his work at St. Paul's Church at Duluth, Minnesota.

Trinity again was searching for a minister and after several months was so fortunate as to contact August E. Binder, who met with the trustees on December 16, 1944, and conducted services on the thirty-first of that month. On the latter date a special meeting of the congregation was held and Binder was invited to become Trinity's pastor. On January 16, 1945, he attended his first council meeting as the pastor of Trinity, and on February 11, he was installed in his new charge by J. Otto Reller of Evansville.[42]

August E. Binder, son of Edward and Augusta C. (Kuhn) Binder, was born on April 12, 1898, at Sedalia, Missouri. He gained his elementary and secondary education in Missouri and Kansas. At an early age electrical engineering was his professional choice, but during the third year in high school he saw a greater need in the Christian ministry. Since that was also the year of his confirmation, which took place on April 5, 1914, at St. Peter's Evangelical Church, it is likely that the hours spent at confirmation school had made an imprint upon the young mind. After graduation from high school, Binder began to visualize happy days on the campus of Elmhurst College. Unfortunately, this dream never materialized. Instead, he indulged in a five-month business training course and entered the employ of the Kansas City Bell Telephone Company. But he never lost sight of his goal, and was privately tutored by his pastor, John Sauer. For nineteen months he worked for

[42] Mount Vernon *Democrat*, February 12, 1945.

the telephone company and then resigned. In September, 1917, he entered Eden Theological Seminary as a special student During his seminary days he worked diligently at the Evangelical Social Center now known as the Caroline Mission. The challenge appeared even greater and he was of the opinion that when he had completed his training, he should enter the foreign mission field in India. Upon termination of World War I, fate again visited Binder; and, instead of an ocean voyage to India, he followed an overland journey to Douglas, Minnesota, to assume a temporary pastorate at Union Evangelical Church in September, 1920. After nine months in this region, he was assigned the superintendency and pastorate at Caroline Mission. His duties here began July 1, 1921, which followed his marriage to Amanda D., the daughter of Dr. and Mrs. J. H. Horstmann, St. Louis, Missouri. Horstmann was for many years the editor of the *Evangelical Herald,* later, the Evangelical and Reformed Church *Messenger.* This union was blessed with three children —August E. Jr., Paul J., and Ruth (Mrs. L. Don Duckworth).

For six years the Binders labored together in St. Louis and then answered the call of the Board of National Missions to serve St. Paul's Evangelical Church at Seattle, Washington. During his seventeen years in the state of Washington, Binder completed the requirements for a bachelor of arts degree at Seattle Pacific College; and those of Eden Theological Seminary, for the bachelor of divinity. At the time of his resignation at Seattle, he was president of the Pacific Northwest Synod. On November 12, 1944, he preached his farewell sermon in Seattle and soon departed for the Middle West. He has been active in synodical work and contributed to the devotional book *With God and Friends Each Day* edited by Frederick R. Daries.

Soon after the arrival of Binder, he, like Rasche, was faced with tragedy in the community. On February 6, 1945, the trustees gave permission to the public school system to use Trinity's parish hall because Central School had been destroyed by fire early on the morning of January 31. The first four grades were housed in these temporary quarters for the remainder of the school year.

An innovation in 1945 was the seedtime festival[43] held on Sun-

[43] *Ibid.,* May 3, 1945.

day afternoon, May 4, with special services conducted on farms of Trinity's membership. This project was repeated the following year. The Lord's Acre Plan was suggested whereby the income of a certain acre would be for the church.

The Cradle Roll Mothers Club was organized in February of 1945. This group is particularly interested in the infants and tiny tots and the mothers of these little folks. During the summer a Vacation Bible School was conducted for school age children. That there are no bounds for kingdom work was evidenced on November 5, 1945, when it was announced at the meeting of the trustees that Fred and Albert Schreiber had donated a heifer to the church. The Youth Fellowship financed the feeding of the heifer for one year and then sent it to a devastated area in Europe as a part of the church's rehabilitation program. These young people named their new acquisition "Dew Drop." This project was so favorably received that a second heifer was acquired. The young people obtained money for feed and shipping costs by giving a play, an ice cream social, and selling pictures of "Dew Drop."

Interestingly enough, the pastor's report from November, 1945, to October, 1946, indicated that fourteen hundred pounds of relief supplies in the form of clothing and food and two heifers had been sent to Europe. Likewise, five barrels of food had been sent to the orphanage at Hoyleton. The membership of Trinity had followed the motto "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Some changes in the church were also made and on February 13, 1946, a new altar was dedicated.

In the spring of 1946 the men reorganized into the Churchmen's Brotherhood and undertook the supervision of Trinity Grove. The work of the church had increased to such an extent that Dorothy Kuebler Withers was engaged as a part-time church secretary to assist the pastor and the Church Council in the administration of the church's program. She began her duties on April 1.

As has been noted, individuals from time to time provided needed equipment. Electric clocks were given for the parish hall by Henry Lang and an exhaust fan by Clyde Kincade in 1946. Numerous individuals contributed to the memorial fund at the time of a death instead of purchasing flowers. There

may have been other gifts not mentioned because the minutes and records available were incomplete.

Trinity has always been interested in the children, realizing full well that they will some day be at the helm. Therefore, in 1946 a special Good Friday service was conducted in the morning for the benefit of this young generation. The service was so well received that it has become an annual event on the church calendar and receives community-wide support from the Mount Vernon Ministers' Association. Moreover, some faithful adults were also remembered when a Christian service plaque was unveiled on November 3, 1946, honoring those who had entered the Christian ministry or performed outstanding services in the congregation. The first names to be placed on it were Edward T. Grabert, who had been ordained into the Christian ministry, and Mr. and Mrs. George Kuebler in recognition of fifty years' service in the choir.

At the Auxiliary meeting under date of December 12, 1946, it was voted to hold all meetings in the evening because a majority of the members were employed in various places and unable to attend a day meeting. Since February 8, 1934, the meetings had been held the second Thursday afternoon of the month except during February, May, October, and December, when the group assembled in the evening. This organization has also made a contribution toward Beth Foundation, which is the student center for Evangelical and Reformed young men and women enrolled at Indiana University. The Auxiliary also furnished a coffee maker and steam table for the church kitchen by selling vanilla.

The forces of nature caused Trinity some extra expense in the spring of 1947. Considerable damage was done to the steeple by a windstorm. At a meeting on April 13, three plans were presented. The first of these suggested repair of the damage. A second advised removal of the upper steeple by lowering it to the brickwork and then capping the tower in some suitable manner, at a cost of about eighteen hundred dollars. The third plan urged the removal of the sheet-metal covering, the three remaining dormers, and the coping underneath same. This would include closure of openings, shingling, and painting entire surface. The cost of this work was estimated at $2,055.50 less

insurance of $853.75, making the total $1,201.75. Too many of the older members had repeatedly looked for the steeple as they approached Mount Vernon to permit its removal; and then, too, they recalled how the cross on this tower had served as a guide for refugees at the time of the 1937 flood. Therefore, after some discussion the third plan was adopted.

On March 5, 1947, the church voted to turn over the Weiss Cemetery title to an association of persons organized for the maintenance of these burial grounds, thus relieving Trinity of further responsibility in this connection. The Grabert Memorial Tower Speakers were dedicated on June 22, 1947, in memory of George Michael Grabert, who had deeded the farm to Trinity.

A faithful servant in the ministry of music, Dorothy Kuebler Withers, was given twenty-five silver dollars on December 7, 1947, in appreciation for her services as organist of Trinity. A year later on November 14, the memorial chimes were dedicated. The Mount Vernon *Democrat* referred to the event as Trinity's birthday Musicale.

On June 27, 1948, Trinity's second son, Eugene A. Schneider, was ordained as a minister of the Gospel at Grace Evangelical and Reformed Church of Chicago. Eugene was born on January 9, 1923, one mile northeast of Mount Vernon. In 1941 he graduated from Mount Vernon High School and then entered Elmhurst College. Eugene continued his education at Chicago Theological Seminary and was graduated from that institution on June 15, 1948. During his student days, he served a number of congregations and at the time of his ordination was assistant pastor at Grace Evangelical and Reformed Church in Chicago. On August 1, he began his duties at St. John's Evangelical and Reformed Church, Council Bluffs, Iowa. Before completing his seminary training he married Marjorie Rorick of Sterling, Illinois, on December 22, 1945. Two sons—Tobin and Timothy—have been born to this union.

In the fall of 1948, Trinity Church was host to the meeting of the Evansville sectional conference of the South Indiana Synod on October 21. In that year the last German communion was administered to Mrs. John Knoop and Mr. and Mrs. George Quenzer on Sunday afternoon, October 4.

A kindergarten was organized by the Protestant ministers of Mount Vernon on September 7, 1950. Trinity Church was used for this project because of its facilities. Each church was given an opportunity to be represented by a worker under the direction of Mrs. Richard W. Hudelson, a trained children's teacher. The kindergarten was scheduled to convene Tuesday and Thursday mornings from 9:30 to 11.

Trinity's program consists of more than church services and organizations. On April 6, 1951, a fund was begun to furnish sick room equipment whereby families who needed hospital beds, wheel chairs, and other similar equipment might obtain them without cost from the church. Also mindful of benefits to be reaped from recreation, the Men's Bible Class erected a 30′ x 60′ shelter house at Trinity Grove as a memorial to Gottlieb Grabert, who made possible these picnic grounds.

It has not been possible to record everything that the church as a whole or its various organizations have accomplished. The entire membership of Trinity has supported the home and foreign mission work of the denomination at large as well as smaller projects, such as a saddle and mule for missionary H. N. Auler in Honduras, sponsored by the Ladies Aid. The Sunday school contributed a hundred dollars for an automobile for Herbert H. Gass in India so he might visit the various villages in need of medical care. Leprosy, in particular, is prevalent in the region where the doctor is stationed.

Among individual gifts in recent years are the vases which now grace the altar as a memorial from the Kuebler family. In this connection, a special tribute should be paid to the John P. Wehr family for their generous supply of flowers which they have attractively arranged in the new vases from time to time. This family has at all times provided beautiful bouquets for outstanding meetings and before the days of the new vases they supplied the containers to beautify the sanctuary and meeting rooms. Their motto has always been to bring happiness to others by means of flowers.

In 1953 a fund was started for new pews as a memorial to some loved one. Thus it is apparent that the membership of Trinity is always looking forward and well aware that a deed performed for others is blessed thrice. Repeatedly the gen-

erosity of Trinity's members has been displayed. Among special occasions may be mentioned the Harvest Home Festival or *Erntedankfest,* when the church was laden with the fruits from the garden and field, which were then sent to a worthy institution of the Synod.

One organization of the church, the Dorcas Society, uses only one means of supplementing its treasury. With their nimble fingers these good ladies do quilting as their only source of income. Since 1918 they have made simple and intricate patterns in 450 quilts. Thus, they have many times made a generous contribution to a depleted church treasury. The most recent gift was four brass offering plates. A pair of candlesticks for the altar was given by the Ladies Aid. No history of Trinity would be complete without a special tribute to the women who have always made funds available to the church council when there was no money in the treasury to meet even the most necessary obligations.

Since 1925, Trinity has also been fortunate in having had dependable custodians. William Fellemende began his duties in 1925 and continued until July 6, 1935. For four years his good wife undertook the task and for a short time in 1939 their son, Clennon, filled the gap. In May, 1939, Fred Dausman took over the work and his smile on Sunday mornings serves as a greeting to the parishioners as they come to worship.

Trinity has also been fortunate in its musical program. The choir is faithful and in addition to the regular organist, there are two other women who generously give of their talents in the worship of music which precedes the regular Sunday service. Once a month one of these organists is responsible for a program. It is also gratifying to know that Dorothy Kuebler Withers is training six more young women who are members of Trinity and may become future organists. Whether another church the size of Trinity has such a source for its musical program is questionable.

Another field in which Trinity has made its mark in Mount Vernon is that of Christian education. Sincere men and women have given liberally of their time and energy since 1857 in the work of the Sunday school. The small nucleus which had its beginning then has grown until in the centennial year the en-

rollment is approximately two hundred and forty, with an average attendance of 185. In the curriculum which has attracted both young and old, an effort has been made to study the Biblical stories and show their relationship to the problems of the world.

To this instructional phase of Trinity Church must be added the confirmation school under the supervision of the pastor. In this school the youth follow a program of careful training as outlined in the catechism of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, and with the minister may discuss from time to time the lessons studied. It is indeed interesting to note that during the past ninety-six years 962 have been confirmed. No other Protestant church in Mount Vernon offers its constituents an opportunity comparable to this. Hence, the cohesiveness of Trinity repeatedly has won adults.

Regardless of whether the individual member of Trinity has served the church in an appointive or elective office, contributed in some minor capacity to an organization, presented a liberal gift, or merely come to worship, each person has aided in such a fashion that the foundation has been built on a solid rock. Two members—Mrs. Kate Schenck and John E. Starken—were confirmed in 1878 and have witnessed seventy-five years of the ministry Trinity Church has rendered. Trials and hardships during this past century have only pointed the way toward many victorious and satisfying achievements by which Trinity Church has made a deep imprint upon the life of Posey County, and has woven a colorful thread into the variegated fabric of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

APPENDIX

Constitution and By-Laws of the Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church Mount Vernon, Indiana

(Adopted March 19, 1947)

The Constitution

Article I — Name

The name of this church shall be Trinity Evangelical and Reformed Church of Mount Vernon, Indiana.

Article II — Purpose

It shall be the purpose of this organization to establish in its community a Christian congregation for worship, to promote the Christian life, and to advance the Kingdom of God by all available means.

Article III — Affiliation

This congregation shall be an organic member of the Evangelical and Reformed Church and shall be governed by the constitution, laws and rules of said church.

Article IV — Doctrine

The Articles of Faith of the congregation shall be those of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, of which it is a member.

Article V — Meetings and Quorum

Section 1. The congregation shall have an Annual Meeting and such other meetings as are provided for in the by-laws.

Section 2. Twenty-five members in good standing shall constitute a quorum.

Article VI — Membership

Section 1. All baptized persons of the congregation are members of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

Section 2. Persons who have been duly received into this congregation by confirmation, by letter of transfer, or by profession of faith, and have not been excluded by the process of Christian discipline, shall be communicant members of the same and shall be entitled to all its rights and privileges.

Section 3. Communicant members in good and regular standing shall have the right to voice and vote in the congregation, and also to represent the congregation or charge on the Church Council or other judicatories of the Church as provided in the by-laws.

Section 4. Members who have permanently changed their residences to other cities or communities shall be urged by the pastor to obtain letters of transfer and, as soon as possible, unite with another congregation.

Section 5. Members guilty of misconduct, which brings reproach upon the church, shall be disciplined in accordance with the rules of discipline.

Article VII — Administration

Power of the Congregational Meeting

Section 1. The supreme legislative and administrative power of the congregation is vested in the congregation itself, assembled in meeting duly and legally called as provided in the by-laws.

Congregational Prerogative

Section 2. It is the prerogative of the congregational meeting to decide upon such questions as the buying and selling of property, building projects, extensive repairs of church property, the call and rejection of a pastor, and questions of the policy of the congregation, as well as changes in the constitution and by-laws.

For the transaction of all other business the administration of the church is entrusted to the Church Council, chosen and composed as provided for in the by-laws. This body shall have such authority as is designated to it by the by-laws and the congregation.

Article VIII — The Pastor

Section 1. The congregation shall elect as a pastor only a minister who has been recommended or approved by the Placement Committee of the Synod.

Section 2. The Church Council shall nominate one candidate approved by the Placement Committee of the Synod for the pastorate, to be voted upon by the congregation.

The congregation shall consider only one candidate at a time and vote by ballot for or against his election. A two-thirds majority of all members present shall be required for election. If he is elected, the Church Council shall then tender him a call, according to the form prescribed by the General Synod. The call must be confirmed by the Synod or the Synodical Council.

Article IX — Property

The congregation may, in its corporate name, sue and be sued, hold, purchase, and receive title by gift, grant or other conveyance of and to any property, real or personal, with power to mortgage, sell, or convey the same, providing the State laws permit.

In case of a division in the membership of the congregation, both parties shall submit the question of the right to the property to the Synod and the decision of said judiciary shall be binding on all members of the congregation.

In case of a dissolution of the congregation, the title to the property shall vest in the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

Article X — Organizations within the Church

All organizations are subordinate to the Church Council and shall report annually to the congregation.

All officers should be members of the congregation.

Article XI — Discipline

Discipline in case of un-Christian conduct, or other causes requiring discipline, lies in the hands of the Church Council except in the case of the pastor.

Article XII — Amendments

Additions and alterations to this constitution may be proposed in any regularly called meeting of the congregation. They shall be referred to the Church Council, which shall consider the same and report to the next duly called meeting of the congregation. Said additions and alterations can be adopted by a two-thirds majority of all voting members present. The by-laws may be amended in any duly called meeting of the congregation by a majority vote of the members present and voting.

By-Laws

Article I — Obligations

Section 1. A delegate and alternate from this congregation shall be elected each year by the Church Council to the spring meeting of the Synod. The congregation shall also arrange that delegates representing it, the Church Council, the Sunday School, and the various organizations within the congregation attend the fall meeting of the Synod. The portion of the traveling expenses prorated by the Synod, as well as the registration fees of the pastor and delegates shall be paid by the congregation.

Section 2. The congregation shall regularly contribute toward the support of all branches of the Evangelical and Reformed Church and the Synod according to the rules and actions of the General Synod and the Synod.

Section 3. The congregation, either through its pastor or competent officer, shall make such reports to Synodical authorities as may be required of it, and in every way submit to just and lawful discipline.

Section 4. The official year of the congregation shall be from November first to October thirty-first.

Article II — Privileges, Duties, and Discipline of Members

Section 1. Privileges.

a. All members are entitled to a full share in the fellowship and spiritual blessings of the church, and to the service of its pastor, officials, and other workers, as well as to the Christian sympathy and support of all members.

b. All communicant members of this congregation in good standing are entitled to voice, vote, and office unless otherwise stated in the constitution or by-laws.

Section 2. Duties. It is the duty of all members to take an active part in all functions of the church for the glory of God and the uplift of mankind. This includes:

a. Regular attendance at divine worship and study courses.

b. Devout and regular participation in the Sacrament of Holy Communion.

c. Fervent prayer for the church and all mankind.

d. A family altar of daily devotions in the home.

e. The presentation of children for Holy Baptism as early as possible with the sincere resolve that they shall be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and when they have reached the proper age, they shall be sent for instruction in preparation for Confirmation.

f. Careful attention to the religious training of the youth through the church and home.

g. The practice of true Christian stewardship in respect to the financial support of the local church as well as to its ministry beyond the local parish; such as, benevolent and public welfare services in which it may participate. The total inability on the part of any member to contribute toward the financial support of the church shall in no wise prejudice his standing. In such cases, after proper notification, the Church Council will suspend such obligation for such period as the indigent member finds himself unable to meet the requirement.

h. Obedience to her established law and authorities.

i. Untiring zeal in bringing the unchurched into fellowship with Christ and the Church.

j. A spirit of Christian fellowship and love toward all members.

k. An active membership in the organizations of the congregation wherever possible.

Section 3. Discipline. If a member shall neglect to partake of the Holy Communion, or refuse to contribute to the support of the Church, or continuously absent himself from the public worship for one year, such conduct shall be deemed worthy of censure, and he shall be admonished by the pastor. If after admonition he continues in such neglect of duty for another year, the Spiritual Life Committee shall notify him that he is no longer in good and regular standing, and his name be placed on a list of members under discipline. If before the expiration of another year he shall give evidence of change of heart, and conduct, his name shall be returned to the roll of the active membership of the congregation. If at the end of the third year he shall give no evidence of change of heart and conduct, the Spiritual Life Committee shall recommend to the Church Council that his name be erased from the church register, and notify him of such action. If any member of the Evangelical and Reformed Church shall unite with another congregation without a letter of transfer, the Spiritual Life Committee shall likewise recommend the erasure of his name.

Article III — Congregational Meetings

Section 1. Annual meetings shall be held in the month of November.

Section 2. Special meetings may be called by the Church Council. Upon the written request of twenty-five (25) communicant members, the Church Council shall issue a call for such meeting within two (2) weeks after the request has been received by either the President or the Secretary.

Proper notice shall be given of the time, place, and purpose of the same by announcing it publicly from the pulpit on two (2) successive Sundays, or a written and mailed notice bearing a postmark of forty-eight (48) hours prior to the time that the meeting will be held.

Only such business as has been mentioned in the call may be transacted at such special meetings.

Article IV — The Church Council

Section 1. Membership. The Church Council shall be composed of twelve (12) elected members, the president of each organization (or other duly appointed person as representative of the same), and the superintendent of the Sunday School.

Only the elected members shall have the privilege of the vote. They shall hold office for a term of three (3) years and shall not be eligible to succeed themselves. Four members are to be elected each year. Elected members shall be at least eighteen (18) years of age.

Section 2. Manner of Election. The election of members to the Church Council shall take place at the annual congregational meeting. Election shall be by ballot and a majority of all votes cast shall be necessary to elect. At least a month prior to the election, the Church Council shall appoint a Nominating Committee of five (5) members, two (2) from the ranks of the Church Council and three (3) from the congregation at large. This committee shall present a list of the nominees and shall notify each nominee of his nomination. Additional nominations may be made from the floor.

Section 3. Vacancies. Any vacancy occurring in the Church Council during the year shall be temporarily filled by appointment of the Church Council until the next annual election. At the next annual meeting such a newly appointed member is to be a candidate on the next election ticket, and, if elected, shall serve the full term of the one whose place he was called to fill. If the unexpired term is in excess of two years, he shall not be eligible for re-election.

Section 4. Organization. As soon as possible after the annual meeting of the congregation, the Church Council shall meet and organize itself by electing for a term of one (1) year, a president, vice-president, recording secretary, and treasurer. These officers shall constitute, with the pastor, the administrative council (executive committee) of the church.

Section 5. Duties of the Church Council. The Church Council shall appoint the following committees to assist in fulfilling its duties, and appoint such additional committees as it may find necessary. Where possible

members of the Church Council should be the chairman of these committees, which may be composed of members of the congregation. Each committee shall be composed of at least three (3) members unless otherwise specified:

a. The Spiritual Life Committee. This committee shall be responsible for keeping the membership list of the congregation, conducting a program of evangelism, seek the spiritual welfare of delinquent members, and make recommendations to the Church Council as to membership status.

b. The Committee of Trustees. Members of this committee shall serve for three (3) years; one new member of which shall be appointed each year from the newly elected Church Council members. The names of the Trustees shall be filed annually with the County Recorder.

This committee shall be responsible for all building maintenance, custodial service, including the church, Sunday School hall, parsonage and any other church properties. It shall have authority to act upon all emergency needs and minor improvements without reference to the Church Council for approval, but must clear with the Church Council on all major issues.

c. The Christian Education Committee. This committee shall supervise the educational program of the church, including Sunday school, confirmation classes, special leadership training classes, missionary education projects and such other educational program as may be planned for the welfare of the congregation. The general superintendent of the Sunday school shall be a member of this committee.

d. The Finance Committee. This committee shall prepare an annual budget and upon its adoption by the Church Council and the congregation, it shall be further responsible to aid the Church Council in placing the financial program of the congregation before every member, and assist in every manner possible in the procurement of needed funds for the work of the congregation. The church treasurer shall be a member of this committee.

e. The Altar Committee. This committee shall see that the elements for the Sacrament of Holy Communion shall be available and properly prepared. The President of the Church Council shall be a member of this committee and shall assist the pastor in the administration of the Sacrament.

f. The Christian Literature Committee. This committee shall be composed of representatives of the various church organizations and such additional members as may be appointed. The committee shall seek as wide a distribution of Christian literature throughout the congregation as possible, and handle subscriptions to the denominational publications such as *The Messenger.*

g. The Social Action Committee. This committee shall make studies of social needs and cooperate with the Christian Education Committee in the development of a Christian social consciousness for the entire congregation, and thus stimulate individuals and organizations to take such action as will seek a more Christian social order.

h. The Publicity Committee. This committee shall arrange for information concerning the church's program at work to be given to the local newspapers and denominational periodicals.

i. The Ministry to Those Away from Home. This committee shall keep in touch with members of the congregation who are away from home, attending college or university, with those who are in the United States armed forces, and persons employed away from home.

Time of Meetings and Quorum. The Church Council shall meet once a month for which ample notification is to be given all members who are expected to attend every meeting. Six of the elected members shall constitute a quorum. Special meetings may be called at the request of the Pastor, the President, or four (4) members.

Financial Responsibility—Exemplary Life. The Church Council shall transact all business of the congregation unless otherwise provided, make provisions for the preparation and raising of the budget for the congregation as well as for the apportionment of the Synod and other benevolent purposes. The members shall deem it their sacred duty to set a good example to the congregation by regular church attendance and partaking of the Lord's Supper and by sharing in public and private that exemplary life which becomes a good Christian.

Pastoral Supply. The Church Council shall further assist the Pastor in caring for the spiritual welfare of the congregation. It shall be responsible for supplying the pulpit and supervising the regular conduct of all services during a vacancy in the pastorate. Should such a vacancy occur, the Church Council shall immediately notify the President of the Synod and request that he submit names of candidates for the pastorate.

Section 6. Duties of Officers. President. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the congregation and the Church Council, to maintain order at the meetings and conduct the proceedings according to parliamentary procedure, and to approve the minutes with his signature. He shall remind the Pastor to announce all regular and special meetings of the congregation; or, in case it is so decided by the Church Council, to instruct the Secretary to send a call of such meetings to every member by mail. He shall see that the constitution and by-laws are enforced and that the instructions of the Church Council and congregation are carried out. He shall always manifest an active interest in all the affairs of the congregation. He is also empowered with the Secretary to sign all official documents, contracts, loans, vouchers and deeds in the name of the congregation.

Vice-President. The Vice-President shall preside at all meetings where the President is not present and also when business pertaining to the President and his administration is before the congregation or the Church Council. He shall do all in his power to help the President and make his administration easier.

Secretary. The Secretary shall keep an accurate record of all proceedings of the congregation and the Church Council, issue the call to all regular meetings at the request of the President, attend to all correspondence, act

as the custodian of all documents, and is also empowered with the President to sign all official documents, contracts, loans, vouchers and deeds in the name of the congregation.

Treasurer. The Treasurer shall receive all monies of the congregation, give receipts for such monies and deposit them in the bank designated by the Church Council. He shall keep accurate accounts of all receipts and disbursements, sign all checks after such orders have been authorized by the Church Council. He shall render a monthly report to the Church Council and also report at all regular congregational meetings. He shall give bond in the amount decided by the Church Council, the premium for such bond to be paid by the congregation.

Article V — The Pastor

Section 1. Term of Office. The pastor shall be elected for an indefinite period. In order to terminate this relation, three months' notice shall be given by either the pastor or the congregation, unless by mutual consent.

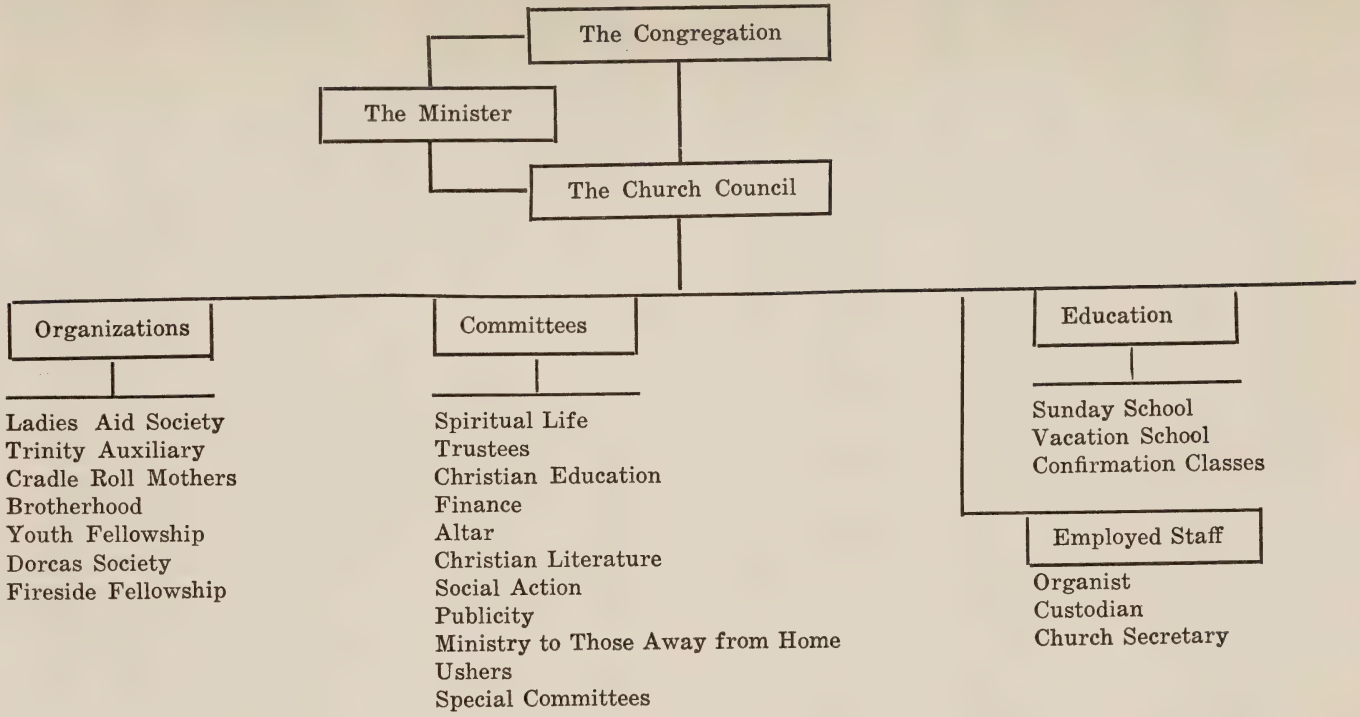
Section 2. Duties of the Pastor. It shall be the duty of the pastor to set a good example to his congregation and to conduct all services of worship on Sundays, holidays, and such other times as the congregation may desire, to direct the work of religious education, administer the Holy Sacraments, visit the sick, comfort the distressed, and to perform all such duties as belong to the pastor's office in the Evangelical and Reformed Church. He shall keep a record of all services performed and make an annual report of his work to the congregation.

Section 3. Rights of the Pastor. The pastor is ex officio a member of the Church Council, and all committees and organizations within the church. So long as he is the pastor, no other minister shall perform any religious ceremony in the church without his consent. To invite a speaker either during the temporary absence of the pastor or for special occasions, the consent of both the pastor and the Church Council is necessary. The pastor's salary shall be paid promptly in at least monthly installments and shall be sufficient to relieve him of temporal cares as far as possible and to preserve the dignity of his calling, subject, however, to the provisions of the contract between the pastor and the congregation. His moving expenses, when he assumes charge, shall be borne in full by the congregation.

Article VI — Use of Church and Buildings

The church may be used at any reasonable time for weddings and funerals. Proper arrangements must be made with the pastor or with the president of the Church Council in the absence of a pastor, in ample time prior to the proposed use. Members shall receive precedence over non-members should a conflict occur. The fees for organist and custodian, as well as expenses for candles and decorations, shall be paid by the parties concerned. The church is offered to non-members as a Christian courtesy and in the hope that her ministry may prove a blessing and may eventually lead to church membership. A special contribution to the church by non-members for her extended courtesy will be appreciated.

THE PLAN OF ORGANIZATION



The pastor or minister is ex officio a member of the Church Council, and all committees and organizations within the Church.

CENTENNIAL YEAR PROGRAM

Trinity's Centennial Year Program was planned around various phases of the congregation's ministry and certain historic events out of its life. Having begun its 100th year on November 2, 1952, the following schedule of special services was observed.

January 25, 1953—Trinity Auxiliary Day

Speaker: Paul Press, Jr., Ferguson, Missouri, who was reared in Trinity's parsonage. It was during his father's pastorate that the Trinity Auxiliary was organized on January 24, 1915. It thus has completed thirty-eight years of work at this time.

March 8, 1953—Builders' Day

Speaker: Walter C. Rasche, Duluth, Minnesota. Sixty-nine years ago on March 9 the present church was dedicated to the worship of God. Thought was given to other building efforts of the past when Rasche spoke on the subject, "Building in Faith." Rasche served Trinity Church from January 3, 1937, to October 8, 1944.

March 29, 1953—Palm Sunday

Confirmation Reunion, 10:15 A. M., when all former confirmands were invited for the home-coming event, with special invitations to classes of 1903, 1913, 1928, 1943, and 1952.

The Ministry of Music was recognized in the evening service, 7:30 P. M., when a massed choir consisting of present and former choir members presented a sacred concert, in which former organists also shared, under the direction of Dorothy Kuebler Withers, organist and choir director.

May 3, 1953—Founders' Day

Speaker: G. F. Brink, New Baden, Illinois, who served Trinity Church for one year, from September 16, 1930, to the following September, 1931. Brink paid tribute to those who founded Trinity Church and directed the thinking to the missionary and evangelistic opportunities of the church.

June 7, 1953—Ladies Aid Society Day

Speaker: Mrs. Ralph L. Holland, Indianapolis, Indiana, widely known for her fine work in the Women's Guild of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, as well as in interdenominational activities. The Ladies Aid Society was organized in May, 1883, and had completed seventy years of work at the time of this meeting.

August 2, 1953—Men's Day

Speaker: Samuel H. Caldemeyer, Evansville, Indiana, during whose pastorate from April 15, 1923, to August 3, 1930, the Brotherhood was formed, and the late Gottlieb Grabert granted the use of the excellent recreational area known as Trinity Grove, where the men and their families gathered for the afternoon.

September 27, 1953—Christian Education Day

Speaker: Arthur J. Schneider, Independence, Missouri, who served Trinity Church from February 15, 1932, to October, 1936. Christian education, as carried on through the Sunday school, confirmation classes, vacation school and by various other means, has always been rated high in importance by the congregation. Trinity Church is looking forward to further expansions in its teaching ministry.

October 18, 1953—Centennial Sunday

Speaker: Edward T. Grabert, Denville, New Jersey, the first of Trinity's sons to be ordained to the Christian ministry.

Noon fellowship dinners were scheduled on the various Sundays that guest served, so that all members might have an opportunity to meet ministers and renew old friendships, and make new ones.

Centennial Pageant — Evening of October 18, 1943

Prepared and directed by Catharine L. Howard

Mount Vernon High School Auditorium

Historical Exhibit included many pictures, programs, and relics associated with the church's history.

A special vote of thanks is due Paul A. Wehr, Indianapolis, Indiana, a former member of Trinity Church, for the use of his artistic talents in the preparation of a decorative cover for the program and the Centennial Seal, both of which were used extensively in connection with the Centennial celebration.

Church Council Membership

George A. Grabert, President
Edward A. Pence, Vice-President
Mrs. Minnie Uhde, Secretary
George G. Brown, Treasurer
Edward L. Beste
William Uebelhack
Carl G. Grabert
Richard McAlear
Herman Renschler
Clyde Kincade
Kenneth Grabert
Oscar Holler

Officers of Church Organizations

Ladies Aid Society

Mrs. August Kueber, President
Mrs. Frank I. Withers, Vice-President
Mrs. George G. Brown, Secretary
Mrs. Herman Renschler, Treasurer

Trinity Auxiliary

Mrs. Oscar Ries, President
Mrs. Clarence Uebelhack, Vice-President
Mrs. William Logan, Secretary
Mrs. George A. Grabert, Treasurer

Dorcas Sewing Circle

Miss Sophia Scherer, President
Mrs. Henry Lang, Sr., Treasurer

Youth Fellowship

Jo Ann Scherer, President
Gary Dersch, Vice-President
Dianne Roos, Secretary
Linda Eilert, Treasurer
Mary Lucille Stratton, News Reporter

Women's Guild Co-ordinator, Mrs. George G. Brown
Women's Guild Treasurer, Mrs. Roscoe C. Bayer

The Sunday School Staff

Nursery

Mrs. Arthur Theuerkauf*
Mrs. Richard Stratton
Mary Lucille Stratton
Linda Eilert**
Joyce Hicks

Kindergarten - Primary

Leona Cullman*
Mrs. William A. Lindley
Jo Ann Scherer
Jana Lee Green
Esther Uebelhack
Mrs. Albert Schreiber
Mrs. John Roos
Mrs. Raymond Hoenert**

Junior

George A. Grabert*
Mrs. August E. Binder
Mrs. Carl Noelle

High School—Adult

Mrs. George G. Brown
Mrs. Frank I. Withers**
Mrs. Ervin Renschler
Mrs. Herman Renschler*
Alvin Kleinschmidt
Mrs. Edward A. Pence
Miss Viola Kohler
Barbara Huck**

Administration

Mrs. A. Glenn Jacobs, Attendance Secretary
Iva Wentz, Librarian
Lorene Uebelhack, Treasurer
August E. Binder, Pastor

The Choir

Alpha Dausman Banks
Paul C. Bayer
Joyce E. Becker
Amanda Horstmann Binder
Hulda Brandt
Nell Yocam Brown
Janice Dausman
Casper S. Eilert
Linda Eilert
Janie Finn
Esther Knoop Grabert
Joyce Hicks
Elsie Daws Holler
Peggy Ann Holler
Barbara Huck
Wilma Schmitzer Jacobs
George B. Kuebler
Carl Noelle
Selma Hausman Noelle
Ruth Schultheis Rothrock
Edward L. Rueger
Geraldine Schaffer
Jo Ann Scherer

Organist

Dorothy Kuebler Withers

Assistant Organists

Amanda Horstmann Binder
Esther Knoop Grabert

Student Organists

Joyce E. Becker
Patricia Carroll
Linda Eilert
Barbara Huck
Marilyn Kleinschmidt
Dianne Ross

Pastoral Services

The first record of pastoral services rendered by ministers of Trinity Church are in the year 1857. These records have been well kept through the subsequent years and show the following ministeries performed:

Persons baptized	1,451
Confirmands	962
Marriages	920
Burials	962

* Departmental leader.
** Pianist, also serving as teacher.

ROSTER OF PATRONS

Agin, Mr. and Mrs. LeRoy
Alexandrian Free Public Library
Allyn, Mr. and Mrs. Otis B.
Anderson, Mrs. Gordon
Appel, Mr. Fred P.
Ashworth, Mrs. Hilton

Bamberger, Mr. Frederick P.
Bartelt, Sister Sophia
Barter, Mrs. Arthur J.
Bayer, Miss Helen
Bayer, Mr. and Mrs. Paul
Bayer, Mr. and Mrs. Robert D.
Bayer, Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe C.
Behrick, Miss Alice
Behrick, Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert F.
Beste, Mr. and Mrs. Edward A.
Binder, Rev. and Mrs. August E.
Binder, Mr. Paul J.
Black, Mrs. John C.
Blosfeld, Mrs. Elizabeth H.
Bokelman, Mr. William H.
Brandt, Mr. and Mrs. Doyle
Breeze, Mrs. Melvin
Britz, Miss Ruth
Burkes, Mrs. A. J.

Caldemeyer, Mr. Richard H.
Causey, Mrs. Louis
Chandler, Mrs. Morgan
Cowgill, Mrs. Marshall
Crunk, Mrs. Ruth Dexheimer

Deusner, Mr. and Mrs. John T.
Dieterle, Miss Lena
Dietz, Mrs. Anna

Ehrhardt, Miss Alma

Forthoffer Family
Freimiller, Mr. and Mrs. Leland

Gonnerman, Miss Lena A.
Gore, Mrs. Charlotte Koerner
Grabert, Mr. and Mrs. August C.
Grabert, Mr. and Mrs. Carl G.
Grabert, Mr. Charles
Grabert, Rev. and Mrs. Edward T.
Grabert, Mr. and Mrs. George A.
Grabert, Mr. and Mrs. Karl F.
Grabert, Miss Lydia
Grabert, Mr. and Mrs. Otto
Gresser, Mr. Fred A.

Hagemann, Mr. Charles E.
Hagemann, Mr. Philip
Hahn, Mr. Albert G.
Hammer, Mr. Thomas E.
Hicks, Mrs. Douglas
Hicks, Mrs. Walter
Hironimus, Mrs. Nannie M.
Hohstadt, Mr. and Mrs. Louis F.
Holler, Mrs. Lena T.
Holler, Mr. and Mrs. Oscar C.
Holler, Mr. and Mrs. William and Bill, Jr.
Horstmann, Rev. and Mrs. J. H.
Horstmann, Mr. and Mrs. T. C.
Howard, Miss Catharine L.
Howard, Mr. and Mrs. William P.
Howard, Phillip L. and Linda
Huber, Mrs. John G.
Hubert, Mrs. Francis S.
Hunter, Dr. Wade G.

Jarrett, Mr. and Mrs. Russell
Joslyn, Mrs. Harold

Kaufman, Mr. Albert
Kaufman, Mr. and Mrs. William
Keck, Mr. and Mrs. Merle
Kelly, Mrs. Marjorie H.
Kincade, Mr. and Mrs. Clyde
Kleinschmidt, Mr. Conrad F.
Knoop, Mr. Norman F.
Krug, Mr. and Mrs. John C.
Kueber, Mr. and Mrs. August
Kuebler, Mr. John R.

LaMar, Mrs. George T.
Lang, Mrs. Augusta M.
Lang, Miss Elfrieda
Lang, Mr. and Mrs. Henry A. P.
Lang, Miss Irma
Lawrence, Mrs. Arvel
Lindley, Mr. and Mrs. William A.

McClure, Mr. and Mrs. Harry E.
McCutchan, Mrs. William A.
McDaniel, Mr. and Mrs. William and Family
McFadin, Miss Irene
Marsden, Mrs. Albert
Maurer, William F.
Milton, Mrs. Hilbert
Moore, Mrs. Bertha H.

Naab, Mr. and Mrs. Albert
Noelle, Mrs. Lydia K.

Oeth, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred
Orr, Mrs. Ella Mae
Ostermann, Mr. and Mrs. Henry C.

Pearson, Mr. and Mrs. Charles
Pence, Mr. and Mrs. Edward A.
Peters, Mrs. Olga S.
Pfister, Mr. and Mrs. Paul A.
Proctor, Mrs. Elfreda Schmitzer

Reinitz, Mr. Fred G.
Renschler, Mr. and Mrs. Henry W.
Renschler, Mr. and Mrs. Herman
Ridenour, Mr. W. W.
Riecken, Mr. Asmus Louis
Riecken, Mr. George S.
Ries, Mrs. Oscar
Roedel, Mr. and Mrs. Armin
Roedel, Mr. and Mrs. John C.
Rothrock, Mr. and Mrs. Ira V.
Rothschmitt, Mrs. J. S.
Rueger, Mrs. Lena

Scherer, Mrs. Fred
Scherer, Mr. and Mrs. Paul C.
Scherer, Miss Sophia
Schisler, Miss Cecelia M.
Schisler, Mr. and Mrs. Charles F.
Schisler, Mr. and Mrs. William
Schmitzer, Mr. and Mrs. Godfrey W.
Schnabel, Mr. Fred G.
Schnarr, Mr. Henry
Schneider, Rev. and Mrs. Eugene
Schoeny, Mr. and Mrs. Erwin
Schreiber, Mr. and Mrs. Albert
Schreiber, Mr. and Mrs. G. Arthur
Schreiber, Mr. and Mrs. J. Philip
Seibert, Mr. and Mrs. William S.
Siehl, Mr. and Mrs. Carl W.
Simons, Mr. and Mrs. Gordon
Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Ira A.
Stallman, Mrs. Edmund
Stallman, Mrs. Fred K.
Starken, Mr. and Mrs. John E. and Nettie
Stofleth, Mr. and Mrs. Clarence
Strupp, Mr. Edgar

Theuerkauf, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur
Thielman, Mr. Carl F.
Topper, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur

Uebelhack, Mr. and Mrs. Oscar
Uhde, Mr. Adolph H.
Uhde, Mrs. Minnie

Vogel, Dr. and Mrs. L. John

Wade, Mr. and Mrs. J. E.
Wehr, Mr. and Mrs. Henry
Williams, Mrs. R. C.
Willman, Mr. and Mrs. Fred
Withers, Mr. and Mrs. Frank I.

Ziegler, Mr. and Mrs. Fred

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The materials used in the preparation of this book include both manuscripts and published works. Chief among the manuscripts have been original letters in the possession of families, kindly loaned to the writer; minutes of the church and its various organizations; American Home Missionary Society Papers in the Hammond Library, Chicago Theological Seminary; Surveyors' Field Notes for southwestern Indiana; complete and well-preserved county records; minutes of the Mount Vernon German Aid Society; and the Original United States Census Returns for 1850 and 1860 for Posey County, Indiana.

In the category of published works much has been gleaned from the printed reports of the Indiana District meetings; local newspapers, such as the *Western Star, Wochenblatt,* Mount Vernon *Demokrat,* and the Mount Vernon *Democrat;* and Trinity's own publications, *Unser Mitarbeiter,* and *Trinity Evangelical Booster.*

Valuable sources for material used on the Evangelical Synod of North America were the definitive work of Carl E. Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier;* Albert Muecke, *Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Synode von Nord-Amerika;* Carl E. Schneider, *History of the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Church;* and the *Anzeiger des Westens,* which through its pages ridiculed the *Kirchenverein.* For the Reformed Church in the United States, the publications by James I. Good were very helpful. Among the various periodicals of the Evangelical Synod of North America which were used are *Der Friedensbote, Evangelical Tidings, Messenger of Peace,* and the *Evangelical Herald.*

To these sources may be added travel accounts by Gottfried Duden, Karl Bernhard, Maximilian, Elias Fordham, and Adlard Welby. Although Duden never visited southwestern Indiana, his glowing accounts of Missouri induced many Germans to migrate. The other travelers, however, visited Posey County and recorded their impressions, both favorable and unfavorable. Mention should also be made of the "Schramm Letters," in the Indiana Historical Society *Publications,* as well as a letter written by Johann Wolfgang Schreyer, in the *Indiana Magazine of History.* Both Jacob Schramm and Schreyer wrote back to friends and relatives in Germany about their experiences in America, and in particular Indiana. Then, too, the "Rappite Letters" edited by John C. Andressohn, *Indiana Magazine of History* were helpful.

Among the federal and state documents consulted were: *United States Statutes at Large; Eleventh United States Census, 1890, Population; House Executive Documents; House Miscellaneous Documents; Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945; Acts of the Indiana Territory; Laws of Indiana; Indiana House Journal; Indiana Senate Journal; Acts of Alabama; Colonial Records of North Carolina; Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia;* William W. Hening, *Statutes at Large.*

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Articles pertinent to the study not already referred to may be found in the *Atlantic Monthly, Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, Deutsche Pionier, Journal* of the Presbyterian Historical Society, *Missouri Historical Review, Niles' Weekly Register, The Nation, Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings* of the New York State Historical Association, *Wisconsin Magazine of History; Historical Papers* of the Historical Society of Trinity College; *Time;* and Hamburg-Amerika Linie, *Guide Through Europe.*

According to Milton "A good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit." The careful study of these good books inevitably leads to a better understanding of other days and other ways. In addition to the works already mentioned in this essay the following have proved to be of value: Edith Abbott, *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem;* J. S. Buckingham, *Eastern and Western States of America;* Sanford G. Cobb, *The Story of the Palatines;* Arthur C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War; Ecclesiastical Records: State of New York;* William H. Dawson, *What Is Wrong with Germany,* and *The Evolution of Modern Germany;* Timothy Flint, *History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley,* and *Recollections of the Last Ten Years;* Colin B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier;* James Hall, *Letters from the West;* Marcus L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration; History of the State of New York;* Friedrich Kapp, *Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York;* Walter A. Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration;* Gustav Körner, *Das deutsche Element;* Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika;* James M. Mathes, *Life of Elijah Goodwin;* Ann Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family;* Frederick L. Olmsted, *A Journey through Texas;* Robert Dale Owen, *Threading My Way;* Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World;* Vincent H. Todd and Julius Goebel, *Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern;* Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History;* Aaron Williams, *The Harmony Society;* Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America;* A. Z. Zucker, *The Forty-eighters.*

Further bibliographical information on the materials used and the location of collections may be obtained from the footnotes.

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